

JPRS 75074

5 February 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 57



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

50772-101		REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 75074		2.		3. Recipient's Accession No.	
4. Title and Subtitle CHINA REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 57						5. Report Date 5 February 1980			
						6.			
7. Author(s)						8. Performing Organization Rept. No.			
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201						10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.			
						11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)			
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above						13. Type of Report & Period Covered			
						14.			
15. Supplementary Notes									
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words) This serial report contains political, sociological and military information on China.									
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors CHINA International Affairs Party and State Military and Public Security Sociological, Education and Culture									
b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms									
c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15									
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161						19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED		21. No. of Pages 67	
						20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED		22. Price	

5 February 1980

CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 57

CONTENTS	PAGE
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
B-52's Fly Surveillance Over Soviet Fleet (XINHUA Domestic Service, 23 Jan 80).....	1
U.S. Reports 1970's 'Disappointing' for Black Americans (XINHUA, 24 Jan 80).....	2
Mohammad Ali Willing To Fight Soviet Forces (XINHUA, 25 Jan 80).....	3
Mauritanian President on Foreign Situation: Talks With PRC Envoy (XINHUA, 20 Jan 80).....	4
'RENMIN RIBAO' Comments on Rhodesian Situation (RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Jan 80).....	5
'XINHUA' on Impartial Implementation of Rhodesia Agreement (XINHUA, 18 Jan 80).....	7
PRC Envoy Hosts Dinner for Sudan Vice President (XINHUA, 23 Jan 80).....	9
'XINHUA' Commentary on Andean Pact Organization Meeting (XINHUA, 16 Jan 80).....	10
'XINHUA' Reviews Colombian Domestic Situation (XINHUA, 25 Dec 79).....	12
'XINHUA' Reviews Paraguay's Economic Growth, Political Stability (XINHUA, 26 Dec 79).....	13
'RENMIN RIBAO' Reviews Situation in Western Europe in 1979 (Zhang Yunwen; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Dec 79).....	15

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Briefs

Mauritania Hospital	18
---------------------	----

PARTY AND STATE

Democracy Urged as Solution to Cadre Privilege Issue (Xiang Wuyi, Wu Hongxi; QISHI NIANDAI, Dec 79).....	19
Gravity of Cadre Privilege Issue Discussed (Yang Huang; QISHI NIANDAI, Dec 79).....	26
'GUANGMING RIBAO' Article Urges Telling the Truth (Niu Gent, Tao Sha; GUANGMING RIBAO, 7 Jan 80).....	33
'RENMIN RIBAO' Discusses Deprivation of Political Rights (Xu Lisheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Jan 80).....	37
Hong Kong Journal of PRC Political Situation (Bi Renqiong; TUNGH SIANG, 16 Jan 80).....	39
Hong Kong Magazine on China's Press Dispute (Fan Tzu-Ping; TUNGH SIANG, 16 Jan 80).....	44
'RENMIN RIBAO' Editorial on Showing Concern for Poor Areas (Editorial; RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Jan 80).....	50
'JIEFANGJUN BAO' Article Calls for Hard Work, Plain Living (XINHUA Domestic Service, 18 Jan 80).....	53
PRC Education Minister on Students' 'Golden Age' (XINHUA Domestic Service, 22 Jan 80).....	56

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'CHINA YOUTH NEWS' on New Motto for Modernization Drive (XINHUA, 26 Jan 80).....	60
PRC Education Minister Addresses Conference in Beijing (XINHUA, 25 Jan 80).....	61
'Women of China' Discusses Family Planning (XINHUA, 23 Jan 80).....	62
Shijiazhuang Prefecture Holding Cadre Training Classes (RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Nov 79).....	63

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

B-52'S FLY SURVEILLANCE OVER SOVIET FLEET

OW250539 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1449 GMT 23 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Washington, 22 January--Thomas Rose, spokesman for the U.S. Defense Department, declared today that U.S. B-52 bombers carried out missions in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea on 22 January to keep a watch over the Soviet fleet. He added that the United States has the important capability of sending its troops to any part of the world.

The B-52 is a large bomber capable of carrying nuclear bombs. But Rose said that these planes did not carry nuclear bombs on this surveillance mission. He refused to explain from which U.S. base the B-52 bombers took off.

UPI held that this action taken by the United States aims at reminding the Soviet Union that the United States is capable of sending the B-52 bombers to carry out military missions over the Middle East and Western Asia, and that militarily the United States is able to control this petroleum shipping line to the West.

Rose also declared at the press conference that the Soviet reconnaissance planes have also regularly taken off from South Yemen's Aden to fly surveillance missions over U.S. vessels in the Arabian Sea.

CSO: 4005

U.S. REPORTS 1970'S 'DISAPPOINTING' FOR BLACK AMERICANS

OW242113 Beijing XINHUA in English 2101 GMT 24 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Washington, January 24 (XINHUA)--The 1970s was "A Disappointing Decade for (American) Blacks," comments the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR in an article today reviewing reports that black Americans' situation had practically deteriorated during the last decade.

A report on "The State of Black America" released by the National Urban League on January 22 said: There are more blacks in poverty today than at the start of the 1970s. In 1969, there were 7,395,000 blacks below the officially-defined poverty line, and in 1978, the figure reached 7,625,000, or 30.6 percent of the total black Americans.

Black unemployment at 11.3 percent in 1979 is not only more than twice white unemployment (5.1 percent), but is actually higher than it was in the 1960s and much higher than at the start of the 1970s, when it stood at 8.2 percent, the report said.

As a result, the average black family income had dropped to about 59 percent that of white families by 1978, as against 61 percent a decade ago.

"The 1970s were not a time of progress within black America," which suffered "a mood of disappointment, frustration and bitterness at promises made and promises unkept," said Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., chairman of the League, at a new conference in releasing the report. "For some, a few," he said, "it is a little better. But for the vast majority of black people, they are all boat people without boats, out adrift on an ocean of discrimination, poverty" and other social ills.

A week ago a separate report by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission described 1979 as a year of "drift" in civil rights. It found nearly half of all minority-group school children still in "racially isolated schools" and "housing discrimination remains widespread throughout the United States" with a "grim pattern" of minority families paying "disproportionately high costs for flawed, deteriorating, and overcrowded housing."

The U.S. Congress and government should not completely "lose sight of the sufferings of blacks and other minorities and of the long road still to be traveled before the last vestiges of discrimination can be said to have been wiped out, once and for all," the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR observes.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MOHAMMAD ALI WILLING TO FIGHT SOVIET FORCES

OW252126 Beijing XINHUA in English 2109 GMT 25 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, January 25 (XINHUA)--Former world heavyweight boxing champion, Mohammad Ali, said today he would be willing to fight the Soviet forces in Afghanistan because "that would be a just war," according to Western news agency reports from New Delhi.

Speaking at a news conference in New Delhi today after meeting with Indian Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi, Ali said, "The world is threatened by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan." "I resisted going to fight in Vietnam but I would not resist going to fight Russian to protect Moslems," he said.

The three-time world heavyweight champion told reporters, "I am threatened, my family is threatened, the peace of the world is threatened" by the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. The Soviets' next move would be in Iran, part of a plan "to conquer the whole world for themselves," he noted.

He also repeated his strong support for U.S. President Carter's call for a boycott of the Moscow olympics. He said a boycott was important in order to "show the Russians how serious we are." He called on the Moslem countries to boycott the 1980 olympic games in Moscow as a reply to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Ali said the Soviet Union must be made aware that its armed presence in a neighbouring Moslem country was unacceptable.

Ali arrived in New Delhi early today.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MAURITANIAN PRESIDENT ON FOREIGN SITUATION: TALKS WITH PRC ENVOY

OW201238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 20 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Nouakchott, January 19 (XINHUA)--Mauritania "vehemently denounces all acts in sabotage of the international relations established on the basis of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect between states," declared Mauritanian chief of state and head of government Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala today.

Referring to the situation in Indochina, Afghanistan and other places when he received the diplomatic corps accredited here, Haydala said that the conflicts there have "endangered the future of the peoples and their most legitimate aspirations."

Speaking of the retreat of his country from the conflict of West Sahara, he noted that it was in the supreme interests of the Mauritanian people and should not be considered as opposition to or favour towards any side.

He spoke highly of the second Lome convention signed recently between the nine countries of the European Economic Community and countries of Africa and Caribbean and Pacific regions. He also reaffirmed Mauritanian people's solidarity with the Palestinian, Zimbabwean and South African peoples in their just cause.

During a conversation with Chinese Ambassador Zhao Yuan, Haydala expressed his thanks to Chairman Ye Jianying of the standing committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Hua Guofeng of the state council of the People's Republic of China for their message of congratulation sent on the occasion of his nomination to the post of chief of state and head of government. He also expressed the hope that the good relations of cooperation between the two countries would be further developed.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMENTS ON RHODESIAN SITUATION

HK211207 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 80 p 6 HK

[Short commentary: "Britain Should Bear the Responsibility"]

[Text] A gloomy shadow is spreading over the sky in Rhodesia. The question of whether or not the London agreement on Rhodesia can be implemented is facing a new test.

Since the signing of the London agreement, the patriotic front has strictly complied with the stipulation of the cease-fire agreement. By 7 January, there were already 20,000 guerrilla fighters gathering in the designated assembly points. Commonwealth officials who are responsible for maintaining peace and British Governor Soames expressed their satisfaction with this.

However, in the last few days, changes have occurred in the Rhodesian situation that call for attention. With Britain's acquiescence, in addition to the 2,000 South African troops in Rhodesia that have not been withdrawn, more South African troops have been sent into Rhodesia. Britain also allowed Rhodesian security forces to leave their gathering point on the pretext of helping the Rhodesian police maintain security. As a result, a bloody incident has occurred in which Rhodesian security forces flagrantly shot and killed seven Zimbabwean guerrillas.

The London agreement clearly stipulated that South African troops must withdraw from Rhodesia and instituted the principle of giving equal treatment to both the troops of Muzorewa and those of the patriotic front. This biased and partisan stand taken now by Britain has aroused the discontent and anxiety of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, the African front line countries and the British commonwealth countries.

Today, the significance of a peaceful solution to the Rhodesia problem has gone beyond the scope of a single country and bears on the major cause of peace and stability in Southern Africa. With the support provided by the commonwealth African states, the British government has made great efforts in seeking a peaceful solution to this problem and contributed to the success of the London conference. If Britain does not strictly and impartially

implement the agreement and immediately take measures to stop the deteriorating situation, then the situation in Zimbabwe and the southern African areas will become turbulent and unstable and an even greater counterattack will occur. If this situation takes place, the achievements of the London conference will be destroyed in a single day and hegemonism will step up its interference. This will be detrimental to all three parties signing the London agreement. Since the British governor has already taken over control of the Rhodesian government and all its power, the British side should assume accordance with the articles of the London agreement, because no other roads are feasible.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' ON IMPARTIAL IMPLEMENTATION OF RHODESIA AGREEMENT

OW181721 Beijing XINHUA in English 1609 GMT 18 Jan 80 OW

["Britain Urged to Impartially Implement Peace Agreement on Rhodesia"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, January 18 (XINHUA correspondent)--Over 20 days have elapsed since the official signing of the peace agreement on Rhodesia. Although progress has been made thanks to efforts made by various parties concerned there have been some twists and turns in the implementation of the agreement.

It was reported that British Governor Lord Soames who exercises interim administration in Rhodesia has shown his partiality in the implementation of the agreement. Events have recently taken place in which the Rhodesian security forces and particularly, the auxiliary forces of the former regime occupied the areas controlled by guerrillas. In the past few days the Rhodesian security forces killed seven guerrillas of the patriotic front. Incomplete statistics showed that about 70 people had been killed in the hostilities since the ceasefire on December 28 last year.

The partiality of the British governor has aroused resolute opposition in the patriotic front which accused him of violating the ceasefire agreement. In his letter to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on January 8, Robert Mugabe, co-leader of the patriotic front, stated that the front will refuse to cease fire if the British authorities fail to stop the violations of the agreement. Joshua Nkomo, another co-leader of the patriotic front, told reporters recently that Lord Soame's use of the Rhodesian security forces can only "invite an exchange of fire." He called for "the removal of this confrontation" and stressed opposition to the presence of South African troops in Rhodesia.

African nations unanimously condemned the biased stand of the British governor. In his message to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Liberian president and current chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), William Tolbert, has again urged the British government "to ensure that the agreement reached at the London Conference on Rhodesia is fairly and impartially implemented." He stressed that any partiality or bias favouring one faction in Zimbabwe and placing the patriotic front at an undue disadvantage could

seriously erode the basis of Africa's support for the process of transition to independence now underway in that territory. The heads of state of the frontline countries in Southern Africa, at their recent conference in Mozambique, discussed the situation about the implementation of the London agreement. The summit condemned the British authorities for their biased stand in Rhodesia and stressed that free, democratic elections must be held in Zimbabwe. Tanzanian president and chairman of the Summit of the Frontline Nations Julius Nyerere pointed out that the presence of South African troops in Rhodesia was a form of intimidation to the African people. He denounced Britain for trying to justify it. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has said that a serious unhealthy situation has emerged in Rhodesia resulting from the British partial policy. Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi said that he would withdraw Kenyan troops from the commonwealth monitoring force in Rhodesia unless South African forces pull out of that country.

The signing of the peace agreement on Rhodesia is the result of efforts by all sides concerned. After its signing, the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution to lift sanctions against Rhodesia. At the same time, the Southern Africa frontline countries have taken positive steps to resume contacts with that country. At the same time, the Patriotic Front is conscientiously carrying out the ceasefire agreement. Up to January 7, over 18,000 guerrilla fighters had regrouped at the designated places. Co-leader of the Patriotic Front Nkomo had returned home to participate in a general election.

It is declared that a nation-wide general election will be held from February 27 to 29 before independence of Rhodesia. With the general election approaching, Africa and the whole world are now focusing their attention on the British attitude. Britain should satisfy the African countries' just demands, impartially implement the peace agreement on Rhodesia, stop the illegal activities of the Rhodesian troops, and make South Africa pull out its troops so as to ensure the complete realization of ceasefire and the holding of the general election under the conditions of freedom and justice.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC ENVOY HOSTS DINNER FOR SUDAN VICE PRESIDENT

OW230902 Beijing XINHUA in English 0812 GMT 23 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Khartoum, January 22 (XINHUA)--Chinese ambassador to Sudan Song Hanyi gave a dinner party at the Chinese embassy here this evening in honour of Sudanese First Vice-President and Defence Minister 'Abd Al-majid Hamid Khalil.

Present at the party were members of the Sudanese political and military delegation led by him on his China visit early last month.

In his speech, the Sudanese First Vice-President described his China visit as achieving good results. He stressed the identity of the policies of Sudan and China in strongly condemning the Soviet Union for its invasion of Afghanistan.

In his speech, the Chinese Ambassador wished the Sudanese government and people under the leadership of President Numayri new successes in maintaining national independence, developing national economy and culture, adhering to the cause against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and persisting in the non-aligned movement.

The dinner party proceeded in a warm atmosphere of friendship.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' COMMENTARY ON ANDEAN PACT ORGANIZATION MEETING

OW161900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1841 GMT 16 Jan 80 OW

[Commentary: "Andean Pact Organization on March"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, January 16 (XINHUA)--The ongoing progress from economic to political integration made by the Andean Pact Organization will give new impetus to the unity in Latin America. This is an important message put over by the first formal meeting of the consultative council of Andean foreign ministers which ended in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, yesterday.

The meeting made two important decisions: One is to extend economic cooperation into political cooperation so as to take a common and coordinated stand on problems involving the region and the world as a whole. The other is to push forward Latin American integration by cementing relations with Brazil and Argentina in the south and strengthening cooperation with Mexico and other Central American countries.

The meeting was held when political situation is unstable in the troubled Latin America, particularly in Central America and the Caribbean region.

To cope with the situation, presidents of the five member countries met last May and decided to extend the organization's cooperation into the political and diplomatic fields. The Andean foreign ministers' consultative council was formed last November with a view to stepping up political cooperation between the member countries and defending the interests of the sub-region.

During the past year, the five countries took three important joint actions.

First, they coordinated their stands in supporting the Nicaraguan people's anti-dictatorial struggle while at the same time opposing to the intervention by the superpowers and Cuba. Their stand was favoured by other Latin American countries.

Secondly, at the Havana non-aligned conference, they unanimously adhered to the basic principles of non-alignment and advocated "equidistance from the two superpowers."

Thirdly, the presidents or representatives of presidents of the five countries met in Panama last October and signed the "Panama Minutes." They support the new canal treaty signed by the U.S. and Panama, seeing it as an important step for the latter to exercise full sovereignty over its territory.

These joint actions played an active role in Latin American and world affairs, and also brought about closer relations not only among themselves but also between them and other Latin American countries.

The Andean group is the most vigorous economic integration organization of Latin America today. In 1978, the export value of its five member countries --Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela--totalled 16,300 million U.S. dollars, doubling that of five years before. In the same year, the gross domestic product of the five countries came to a total of 84,900 million U.S. dollars.

They abound in petroleum and other mineral resources, and represent an important economic power in Latin America. For this reason, the Andean group has played a very positive role in promoting economic cooperation of Latin American countries.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' REVIEWS COLOMBIAN DOMESTIC SITUATION

OW251332 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 25 Dec 79 OW

[Text] Bogota, December 24 (XINHUA)--Colombia's foreign exchange reserves had reached a record level of 4,000 million U.S. dollars this year by December 20, showing a 50 percent increase over the figure of last year, according to an announcement of the Colombian Ministry of Finance.

In the 1978-79 coffee crop year, coffee exports brought in 2,100 million dollars, the highest figure ever registered in this country, the world's second largest coffee producer, or a 700 million dollar rise over that of the previous crop year. The value of non-traditional exports, which constitute an important factor for the growth in the foreign exchange reserves, exceeded the 1,000 million dollar mark for the first time.

The inflation rate was estimated at somewhere near 30 percent, which was not among the high in Latin American countries. It has been decided that the lowest-paid will have a 30 percent wage increase beginning from January 2, 1980.

Owing to the efforts of an earthquake, flood and cold wave, the output of maize, wheat, sorghum and barley--excepting rice--dropped from the level of last year. Therefore, the country has to import a large amount of grain next year.

This year, Colombia remains in the state of siege, workers often lay down tools or go on strike. According to a government announcement, this year has witnessed 80 work-stoppages and 24 strikes, in comparison with 277 stoppages and 47 strikes. The over 100-day strike waged by more than 13,000 employees of the Ministry of Finance this year caused loss of some 79,000 million pesos.

In addition, urban and rural guerrilla activities, raids, kidnapping, smuggling and drug trafficking have been frequent.

Commenting on the present domestic situation in Colombia, the magazine ALTERNATIVA said, "The state has attained rapid development, which has enabled Colombia to be among the countries with the largest economic growth in the continent. But we are still the poorest." It pointed out that Colombia "is one of the countries with high concentration of income, lower purchasing power of wages, and the lowest consumption of calorie and protein for the inhabitants."

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' REVIEWS PARAGUAY'S ECONOMIC GROWTH, POLITICAL STABILITY

OW261342 Beijing XINHUA in English 1256 GMT 26 Dec 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, December 26 (XINHUA)--The economic growth rate in Paraguay, known as a small poor and backward country, reached or exceeded 10 percent in the past two years.

According to an official announcement, 1978 saw a 10.5 percent growth rate in Paraguay's economy in comparison with an average growth rate of 7.1 percent from 1970 to 1977. Its gross domestic product amounted to 850 U.S. dollars per capita, which nearly caught up with Latin American countries with medium-level development. The growth rate this year is estimated at 10 percent.

Paraguay, a land-locked country situated between Brazil and Argentina, is striving to exploit its rich water resources to bring along economic development.

The country, together with Brazil, is building the Itaipu Hydropower Station, the largest one in the world, on the upper reaches of the Parana River. Upon completion in 1983, the station with a generating capacity of 12.6 million kws, will be able to supply half of the electricity for Paraguay. With a less electric consumption at home, Paraguay will sell the rest to Brazil, which can bring in 150 to 200 million dollars a year.

Owing to building of the Itaipu Hydropower Station, the country has gained a total of over 600-million-dollar loans from several foreign banks. The inflow of the loans helped Paraguay have a favourable balance of payment for several years running despite its increasing trade deficit.

The construction of the station has brought about vigorous development in Paraguay's building and building materials industries and also provided opportunities for 16,000 Paraguayans to be employed. Some industrial blocs made up of a number of Paraguayan enterprises have contracted to build houses and highways, produce spare parts of turbines and supply cement, sand, timber and various labour services--all this is under the charge of the Paraguay government. About 130,000 people have moved into the flourishing Parana Province nearby to participate in the construction. Meanwhile, many small factories and service trades are set up one after another.

Moreover, Paraguay and Argentina have started to build the Yacyreta Water Power Station with a capacity of four million kws and are planning to set up another larger one, the Corpus Water Power Station.

Agriculture is a major sector of Paraguay's economy, accounting for 35 percent of its gross national product, and taking up 50 percent of its total labour force. Changes have taken place in agricultural structure in recent years. Efforts have been made by the government to replace meat, timber and tobacco with cotton and soybeans which are much more needed at international markets.

As observers analyzed, however, there exist many problems in Paraguay with a lack of overall economic planning. 80 percent of the economy is in the hands of foreign companies as it is open to foreign capital. Import of 100 percent of the oil it needs and price hikes of other imported products have brought about a rising inflation rate.

It is noted that fast economic development exists simultaneously with lack of democracy and freedom in the political life of the country. By the end of last August, General Stroessner has been firmly ruling the country for one quarter of the century. With the support of the army and the ruling party, National Republican Party, he has actually become the president for life by revising the constitution. Activities of political parties and freedom of the press have been restricted, and many people have been forced to exile abroad owing to political reasons. Consequently, a comparatively stable political situation has emerged. But demand for democracy from the middle class which is growing with rapid economic development has become stronger, and discontent among the broad masses about political corruption is growing. Western newspapers predicted that the rapid development of the economy might cause certain changes politically.

CSO: 4020

'RENMIN RIBAO' REVIEWS SITUATION IN WESTERN EUROPE IN 1979

HK041020 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Dec 79 p 6 HK

[Article by Zhang Yunwen [1728 0336 2429]: "A Year Heading for Unity and Self-Strengthening--A Review of the Situation of Western Europe in 1979"]

[Text] The year 1979 is an important year in the postwar history of Western Europe, which has taken an important stride forward on the road of unity and self-strengthening.

The European Monetary System officially came into force on 13 March. This was a major move taken by the EEC in its general process to bring about economic and monetary integration. The setting up of the European monetary system will make it possible to establish relatively stable exchange rates inside the EEC, offset the repercussions caused by dollar fluctuations and stabilize prices in internal trade. This will help promote trade and economic growth in various SEC countries and consequently push forward the course of West European union. West European political circles regard this as "an important stage in the history of West European union."

The treaty on admitting Greece to the EEC was signed on 28 May and will come into effect in 1981. Besides Greece, the question of the entry of Spain and Portugal was also decided upon in principle. This was the second expansion of the EEC since the entry of Britain, Denmark and Ireland in 1973. West European media have noted that the inclusion of Greece as the 10th member state of the EEC and the efforts made by Spain and Portugal to join the community at an earlier date are of great strategic significance. This will strengthen the southern flank of Western Europe and contribute to countering the Soviet strategy of cutting off the West's maritime transportation routes. Thus, this has also been a major move taken by Western Europe to strengthen joint defense.

The political unity of Western Europe also advanced a step further. After more than 20 years of deliberation, the 9 EEC countries held their first direct elections from 7 through 10 June to create a European parliament. In these elections which transcended national barriers, many influential politicians of West European countries were elected. The number of deputies also increased. This is bound to extend the political influence of the

parliament and further push forward the political unity of Western Europe. Western media generally held that this is "a great event in the political life of the 9 EEC countries" and "a milestone on the road of European construction."

Finally, at the meeting of the NATO Ministerial Council held at the end of the year, the participating countries withstood the Soviet Union's great pressure and fierce diplomatic and propaganda offensives and decided to deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles to counter Soviet nuclear supremacy in the European theater. According to the West, this was "one of the hardest decisions made in the history of NATO" and "one of the most important decisions made by NATO in its 30-year history."

To meet the needs of the situation, France, which withdrew from the NATO military organizations in 1964, strengthened its defense cooperation with NATO this year. It carried forward the defense concept of "state protection" to "protection in a broad sense" and declared that it would shoulder NATO's "forward defense" tasks. The French defense minister declared: "It is one of the important missions of the French armed forces to participate in the defense of Europe." In addition, the fact that the Tories won the general election in May and Mrs Thatcher, who has consistently stood for the strengthening of West European union and NATO defense, took over the reins of the British government also had positive effects on the strengthening of European union.

The process of integrating Western Europe has been going on for more than 20 years. Due to national barriers, political differences and uneven economic development, this process has been a slow one. However, during the 1970's, particularly in this year, new political, economic, defense and other developments have been made.

[HK041025] It is the bankruptcy of the Soviet fraud of false "detente" and genuine arms expansion that has primarily caused Western Europe to head for a union at a faster pace. The Soviet policy of "detente" once fooled many West European personalities. However, while giving wide publicity to "detente" and "arms reduction," the Soviets secretly engaged in frantic arms expansion. It was not until 1976 that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency discovered that Soviet defense spending amounted to between 11 and 13 percent of the GNP instead of between 5 and 7 percent. It was also discovered that "in terms of military investment, the Soviets have spent twice as much as the Americans over the past 10 years." As a result of "10 years of blindness," Western Europe has been reduced to inferiority in theater nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union enjoys an even greater supremacy in conventional weapons. At present, the Soviet Union is engaged in expansion, intervention and infiltration throughout the world. Western media have summed up Moscow's "peaceful policies" as follows: Soviet "arms expansion is carried out under the smokescreen of arms reduction and clamors for peace." "The West, which has been sunk in sleep for years, is beginning to wake up."

The weakening of American strength has made Western Europe realize that they can no longer rely on the "nuclear umbrella" of the United States to insure their own security. This is also an important factor causing Western Europe to head for closer union and self-strengthening.

Production standstills, unemployment, soaring oil prices and growing inflation are knotty problems of the Western economy. Under such circumstances, competition in the world market also grows with each passing day. In face of the "worrisome" prospects of their economy in the 1980's, the West European countries must strengthen their economic union to maintain their position in the world economy.

West European countries play an extremely important part in international politics, economics and military strategy in the contemporary era. It will be a factor of great significance to the maintenance of world peace and stability for Western Europe to accelerate its march toward unity and self-strengthening and play a greater role in world affairs.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

MAURITANIA HOSPITAL--Nouakchott, December 11--The Selibaby Hospital built with Chinese government aid was handed over to the Mauritanian government today at a ceremony attended by about 1,000 people in Selibaby, capital of the Guidimaka region. It covers 2,600 square metres of floor space and consists of several medical departments with 50 beds. Signing the handing-over instruments on behalf of their respective governments were Diagana Youssef, Mauritanian Minister of Health, Labour and Social Affairs, and Zhao Yuan, Chinese ambassador to Mauritania. In his speech at the ceremony, Youssef praised China for her assistance to Mauritania. [Text] [OW131247 Beijing 0722 GMT 11 Dec 79 OW] XINHUA in English

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

DEMOCRACY URGED AS SOLUTION TO CADRE PRIVILEGE ISSUE

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI in Chinese No 12, Dec 79 pp 11-13

[Article by Xiang Wuyi [7309 2970 5030] and Wu Hongxi [0124 7703 3556]: "Cadres' Privileges Seen from the People's Viewpoint"]

[Text] Authors: This article was intended for publication on mainland China; therefore, in style and tone, it is directed at the readers at home. However, after it was submitted to GUANGMING RIBAO, the reply was that, "due to the lack of space, this newspaper will not publish your article." It now appears in QISHI NIANDAI. It may sound awkward in places, and for this we apologize.

Comrade Hua Guofeng's report at the Second Conference of the Fifth National People's Congress and Comrade Ye Jianying's recent talk on National Day both repeatedly stressed the gravity of the cadre privilege issue. The comment entitled "Strict Demands Must Be Made on the Leading Cadres" published in RENMIN RIBAO on 15 August urged the leading cadres of all levels to rectify the unhealthy trends and evil practices and cease their pursuit of special privileges. Ye Wenfu's [5509 2429 4395] poem entitled "General, You Must Not Do So" in SHIKAN, No 8, contained sincere advices to the cadres. One can thus see that the cadre privilege issue in recent years has aroused a strong popular indignation and seriously dampened the people's fervor in the four modernizations. Therefore, at the start of the long march, it is a momentous issue urgently requiring rectification.

At this critical juncture, if the people of the entire country are to be united so that they will pursue the four modernizations with one heart and one mind, then, their minimum demand on the party and government cadres of all levels is to work selflessly for the public interest, serve as models, and share the hardships and difficulties with the masses. With China's current economic situation, large

population base, weak material foundation, and the lack of funds and science and technology, we can only rely on the industry and thrift and the perseverance of the entire people to realize the four modernizations and build a powerful nation. There is no other way. The Chinese people understand fully that "only industry and thrift will build the nation," and they have had a deep experience. In the 50's, for instance, most of the leading cadres of the various levels served as models and worked selflessly for the public interest; therefore, the people of the entire country, from top to bottom, were high-spirited and vigorous, willing to share the joys and the sorrows. The national economy made a considerable progress in barely 10 years. Today, everyone still cherishes the memory of the magnificent years of industry and thrift and of hope for the nation! Building the country with industry and thrift has always been the innermost desire of the Chinese people. Not that they are born with a love for hardships, but all of them have deeply realized through experience that it is the only way to save the nation and become powerful!

To put it very bluntly, from the people's point of view, what is the correct line and policy? It is to have the whole country pursue the four modernizations together. What is the minimum requirement on the leading cadres of all levels? It is to work selflessly for the public interest and practice industry and thrift alongside the people. Conversely, when the leading cadres seek personal interest, pursue special privileges and even ignore law and discipline and squander money freely, while asking the people to work selflessly for the public interest, increase production and practice, and bury themselves in hard work, one may well ask whether the people will be convinced. Will they permit themselves to be exploited indefinitely? Thus, the current cadre privilege issue is like a cold and cruel large iceberg, seriously blocking the road to "unite the entire people and pursue the four modernizations" and stifling their fervor in building the nation with industry and thrift. By smashing the "gang of four," only the tip of the iceberg was sliced off. To eradicate it completely, one must rely on the entire people to rise up and insist on their minimum requirement on the cadres. Only by thoroughly eliminating this iceberg which blocks the new long march will the ship of national construction ride the winds and waves toward the four modernizations.

Being abroad, we are limited in our knowledge of the gravity and complexity of the cadre privilege issue, but our anxiety overflows. Thus, in spite of our ignorance, we would like to discuss our superficial views from the people's standpoint. According to the materialist point of view, from the unhealthy trends and evil practices of the cadres to the calamity of Lin Biao and the "gang of four,"

they are all products of the deviations in the systems. Therefore, in the three points discussed below, we must stress our explorations into the systems.

1. The Cadre System: As pointed out in the RENMIN RIBAO comment of 15 August (hereinafter referred to as "the comment"), the cadre privilege issue is mainly an issue of the system, and the blame should not be laid on the cadres themselves. Some of the provisions on the remuneration of cadres were copied from the Soviet Union, including the rigid hierarchy, the severance from the masses and even feudal coloring at times. Or, take the current cadre appointment and dismissal system for instance: Under the "appointment by rank," the party committee of the higher level appoints those of the lower level. In regard to the appointment and dismissal of the leading cadres, the people who are being led not only have no control, but are not consulted or given a share in supervision. In essence, it is not a cadre system of a socialist country where the people are the masters, but a bureaucratic system with feudal coloring.

In a socialist country where the people are the true masters (hereinafter referred to as a democratic socialist country), the leading cadres of all levels should be "competent public servants" elected by the people. Such public servants elected by the people are directly responsible to the people, and their competence or incompetence is directly evaluated by them. Their term of office is according to law. As for misconducts during their term of office, naturally the people have the right to dismiss them. The foregoing few simple points are not any lofty ideals or empty slogans, but the effective way which has long been followed by the various democracies ruled by law (socialist or capitalist). Naturally, the introduction of a set of democratic and legal cadre systems suited to the national conditions in China cannot be accomplished overnight, and it is impossible to copy it from any foreign country. What is required is that everyone must speak frankly and sincerely, explore and practice over a long period of time by seeking the truth from the facts, and reform step by step and level by level.

We feel that the foremost task in reforming the cadre system is to reinstate the fundamental right of the people as masters. Take, for instance, the people's congresses of the central, provincial and county levels as stipulated in the constitution: What has actually happened in the past 30 years is that there is no set schedule for meetings; the delegates are basically appointed by the party committees of the various levels; the meetings merely involve listening respectfully by imperial decree, deteriorating into a sort of "rubber stamping" without any real power. Thus, the people's sovereignty as masters is fundamentally deprived. To restore such sovereignty,

delegates to the congresses must be truly elected by the people, and such delegates must form congresses of all levels possessing the real power as masters. The constitution must guarantee the congresses the power of consent over the appointment and dismissal of the leading cadres (naturally consent may be withheld from the incompetent), the power to examine and approve the budget of the organs of all levels (state assets are all the result of the people's labor; without the examination and approval of the congresses, naturally no cadre may make any unauthorized use of the assets), the power to question and supervise the administration of all levels, and the power to legislate and formulate systems on the terms of office and the remuneration and retirement of the cadres of all levels. As for the corrupt and law violating cadres, they must all be handled by independent judicial organs. At the present juncture, particularly, when the political style is to be drastically rectified, the law violating cadres must be handled according to the law of the state and the principle of "equality of everyone before the law." The attitude of the "comment" toward the law violating cadres seems to be limited to "exposure, criticism and warning," without mentioning "punishment according to law." At the very beginning when the state wishes to introduce rule by law, such attitude is hardly convincing to the people.

2. The Distribution and Balance of Power: The "comment" points out that "our party is the ruling party possessing a great power." It then cites some advices and epigrams from Lenin, Engels, Chairman Mao and Wei Zheng [7614 1794] to those in power. Actually, the crux of the problem is not whether those in power can understand and sympathize with the people's feelings and work selflessly for the public interest. The fundamental problem is that the power of a society, a state, must be rationally distributed and balanced, instead of overly centralized! There is a famous saying in the West: "Power corrupts; absolute power absolutely corrupts." In other word, when the power is overly centralized, it will become unbalanced, making it impossible to prevent the cadres from becoming corrupt or indulging in tyrannical conduct. Like a brakeless large cart, once it starts rolling, it turns into a "crushing machine." Such tragic historical instances were innumerable in ancient and modern times at home and abroad. The party power usurped by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," for instance, is a lesson of blood and tears right in front of our eyes. The "comment" mentions two popular black sayings during the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four:" "With power, there is everything" and "if power is not exercised, it becomes invalid after the specified date," which corrupted the mind of many cadres. Actually, through the generations, the popular rhymes and adages, whether red or black, all reflected the reality of the era. The two black

sayings cited above were the very words of truth about the abnormal situation which hit the nail on the head. Thus, what actually corrupted the mind of the cadres was not the two black sayings, but the social system described by them. If such social system is not changed, no matter how many "gangs of four" are smashed how many times, there will still be many cadres holding great power who will succeed one another incessantly. No wonder the "comment" laments: "What is regrettable is that it has been more than 2 years since the 'gang of 4' was smashed, yet some of our leading comrades still practice, by their actions, the fallacies of Lin Biao and the 'gang of 4.'"

From the above analysis, one can see that the hotbed which engenders the special privileges of the cadres and the scourge of the "gang of four" is the social system where "with power, there is everything" and the unbalanced party and political powers. Thus, to forestall a reenactment of the disaster of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and prevent the cadres from riding herd over the people, it is necessary to fundamentally reform the system where the people have no power as the masters of the country and where the power is unbalanced, and to change to democratic socialism under the rule of law. To put it simply, the fundamental principle of socialism is "from each according to his ability; to each according to his labor." When the people have no guarantee for their basic human rights, how can they work to the best of their ability? If the cadres are permitted to squander money freely--the people toiling and the bureaucrats enjoying, how can it be called "to each according to his labor?" Thus, to follow socialism in fact as well as in name, democratic rule by law must be firmly upheld and the basic human rights protected. If these two main points are overlooked, any socialist country will inevitably change its essence and run the danger of following feudalism under the name of socialism! Furthermore, "democratic rule by law and protection of human rights" are naturally not the "patents" of capitalism and do not, in themselves, contain any "bourgeois essence."

The rational distribution and balance of power constitute the basic structure for democratic rule by law and the sole means to protect the rights of the people from infringement and safeguard socialism from deterioration. The legitimate real power of the people's congresses of the various levels, such as legislation, appointment and dismissal, and examination and approval of budgets discussed above, when restored, is a main pillar of power balancing. Another indispensable pillar is a completely independent judicial system which will safeguard the constitution from distortion, enforce the law impartially, and assure the equality of everyone before the law. Conversely, without an independent judicial structure, it will be impossible to protect the integrity of the constitution and assure the

fairness of law. When the judicial organ is subordinated to the party and political organs, it can only act in accordance with the will of the superior official and will often, under the direction of the superior official, turn into a club to crack down on the dissenters and repress the people. In short, restoring the real power of the people's congresses and creating an independent judicial system are the two capital constructions for the modernization of China's politics. Today, the most encouraging appeal is to "pursue the four modernizations." However, without political modernization, it will be impossible to attain stability and unity with one heart and one mind, and the "pursuit of the four modernizations" will not have its necessary political foundation.

3. Protection of Freedom of Speech by Law: The "comment" mentions that some comrades in the party, especially the leading comrades who have been criticized for their special privileges, feel a resentment and expressed all sorts of dissatisfactions. They make such complaints as: "Is this not deliberately smearing the old cadres?" "The moment there is a problem, it is spread around. The leaders' prestige drops ever lower. How can they conduct work in the future?" From the people's point of view, whether a leading cadre is red or black entirely depends on his practice, and the masses who are being led naturally can see it clearly. Actually, the prestige of a leading cadre or ruling party is only maintained by his or its consistent political achievements for the people, and cannot be extorted by authority, high pressure or a monopolistic propaganda machine. Take, for instance, the leading cadres who seek special privileges and play the tyrant: The masses have long been aware of the situation, and it does not need the Party Central Committee to "spread it around." However, as no clear and definite law is in existence today to protect the freedom of speech, the people can only "keep silent in the open and talk behind their backs." To make the people the true masters, the minimum requirement is an open forum where public opinion is expressed and national affairs discussed. Only thus will the public servants be effectively supervised. Therefore, the state must promptly formulate and proclaim a law on publication, granting the people the right to express their views according to a legitimate procedure while being responsible for such views (for example, the freedom of speech cannot be used to slander or to create rumors) and encouraging the newspapers and publications run by the people in all areas.

In fact, the freedom of speech is not a "luxury" bestowed by the authorities to the people for them to vent their anger. Rather, it is the talisman to pool the wisdom of the masses, gather the strengths of the people, and aid and urge the government to grasp the key link in running the country! This talisman is the height of wisdom

crystallized from the ideas of millions. Only by relying on the public opinion of the masses will it be possible to promptly acquire an insight into the gain or loss of the administration and safeguard the policies from severance from the masses. And only by the open discussion of national affairs by the people will it be possible to form a reliable and concrete program to run the country. If history is a mirror, then the will of the people is the light to guide navigation. More than 1,300 years ago, Wei Zheng already said: "The person in power is wise when he hears all sides, but inept when he hears only one side." Let us, then, take a look at the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four:" They blocked off completely the people's freedom of expression and monopolized the propaganda machine, resulting in an ideological chaos in the entire country and leaving a remnant poison even now unpurged. When the two are contrasted, one will realize even more clearly that, to grasp the key link in running the country and pursue the four modernizations in stability and unity, the talisman of the freedom of speech is absolutely indispensable. Stifling it is like destroying one's own ears and eyes. Will it not be like a sightless man riding a blind horse on the new long march?

In the past 100 years or more, "modernizing China" has been the lofty ideal of all the Chinese. Unfortunately, more than 100 years have passed, yet the ideal is still not realized. Today, the motherland appeals for the four modernizations, and all overseas Chinese respond enthusiastically. However, we deeply feel that political modernization is truly an urgent matter. Looking back at the failure of the various modernization movements in the past 100 years or more, we find that it was often because politically the feudalism of several thousand years had not been cast off, and therefore the endless setbacks and disputes. In no time at all, the hard-earned small achievements of the 50's, for instance, were swept away by the storm of the "gang of four" and Lin Biao's feudal restoration. Learning the lesson, one can see that, to safeguard the four modernization movement from the danger of another upset, the only way is to reform thoroughly the political system. The three points discussed above are suggestions aimed at this one thing.

6080

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

GRAVITY OF CADRE PRIVILEGE ISSUE DISCUSSED

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI in Chinese No 12, Dec 79 pp 13-15

[Article by Yang Huang [2799 5435]: "Chinese Communist Cadre Problem and the Motive of the Cultural Revolution"]

[Text] The Ever Aggravating Cadre Issue

"Give you the moon, you find it too cold;
"Give you the sun, you find it too hot!
"You want to hold the Earth in your bosom,
"Everything for your pleasure
"for your selection...."

These are the lines from a long poem which created a furor in Beijing recently. It was written by an unknown poet to a Chinese Communist high official. Its title is "General, You Must Not Do So." Sources say that, upon its publication in SHIKAN, "it immediately produced a powerful response from the readers and attracted the widespread attention of the media."

Reportedly, after his reinstatement, a Liberation Army general who was once ruthlessly persecuted by the "gang of four" actually issued an order to demolish a kindergarten and built for himself a modern private residence costing several hundred thousand yuan of foreign exchange. Hearing about it, the poet, shocked, wrote a long poem, advising the general "not to do so."

The other day, a friend appeared to be very thoughtful upon his return from a trip to the mainland to visit relatives. Upon questioning, it was found that the trip was not pleasant. He said that he saw many people during the trip and that, whether those of the older generation or his contemporaries, and even strangers, all expressed their discontent--Chairman X X is not enthusiastic about the "four

modernizations" of the state, but only concentrates on the modernization of his own house; the daughter of Secretary X X went abroad to study and his son was transferred back to the city and given a good post. All these made him ponder and feel depressed. He also said indignantly that everyone in China today, from top to bottom, enthusiastically pursues the four modernizations, but the bureaucrats truly serve as a wet blanket, that, unless the bureaucratic stratum undergoes a thorough reform, China's future is dim, and that "perhaps there has to be another revolution before the four modernizations can be undertaken!"

I was dumbfounded by his solemn and enlightening remarks. Another revolution? What revolution? Great Cultural Revolution?

The RENMIN RIBAO of 27 September published a letter from a group of cadres in Yuncheng Prefecture, Shanxi Province, criticizing many leading cadres of the prefecture who sought pleasure and ease and pursued special privileges, especially Zhang Huaiying [1728 2037 5391], first secretary and concurrently assistant director of the prefectural party committee. He had the use of 2 government automobiles and a residence of 300 square meters, consisting of 11 rooms, with a black and white and a colored television, lavish furnishings and tasteful decorations and a heavily guarded entrance. The masses called it the "Zhang mansion."

Coming to the term "Zhang mansion" which had not been seen for ages, I couldn't help shuddering. Some 3 or 4 decades ago, the residences of high Guomindang officials in China's cities were often referred to as the "X X mansion." After 1949, this term seemed to have completely disappeared. Today our compatriots are again using the word "mansion" when referring to the residence of a Communist Party official. Are they not equating this Assistant Director Zhang with the high Guomindang officials?

According to the newspapers, under the direction of Secretary Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492], the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee revealed that some provincial and municipal leading cadres unscrupulously demanded "donations" from Hong Kong, Macao and foreign capitalists and that some of them, in their dealings with foreigners, accepted personal gifts and betrayed principles. It reminded me of the old operas in my childhood, the corrupt and law violating official, though usually wearing an expression of greed, always made such remarks as "Do not act rashly." Yet today's newspapers use the word "demand." Isn't it discarding completely the little bit of "poise" of the corrupt officials of the old days? Long ago some businessmen who had visited Beijing said that, if one watched one's opportunities and made some small offerings to certain foreign trade officials in

Beijing, the negotiations would become much more smooth. When such incidents are used as annotations of the "betrayal of principles" mentioned by Secretary Yang Shangkun, doesn't it indicate the betrayal and complete materialization of the interest of the state? It can be simplified as "turning traitor to the country!"

Among the high and low level cadres in the Chinese Communist Party, there are, like Premier Zhou Enlai, many who toil for the country and the people and exert themselves to the utmost. However, from the incidents discussed above, one can easily see that the cadre ranks have suffered severe corrosions. If the exuviation of the cadres of a ruling party is taken as a warning line to the regime, one will be completely justified to say that the current situation of the Chinese Communist cadres is extremely close to it! In the past, one only came across reports on basic level cadres oppressing the people. In recent years, not only such reports have grown more numerous, but the level of the "problem cadres" has risen ever higher. Generals and assistant directors are already the high-level cadres of the Chinese Communists, while some reports which have not been officially confirmed involve those of the rank of vice premier who benefit themselves at the expense of the public and seek special privileges. If used to describe the gravity of the situation, the "revolution" mentioned by my friend is undoubtedly highly appropriate.

The Starting Point of the Cultural Revolution

In today's China, the moment revolution is mentioned, one is often reminded of the Cultural Revolution which only subsided yesterday. What the Great Cultural Revolution left to China, to the world, seems to be only the hateful and disgusting memories of chaos, killing by torture, superstition and bankruptcy. The enemies of the Chinese Communists use it to prove how atrocious and outrageous the Chinese Communists are; their friends pray that this type of revolution will never again be repeated. Indeed, most likely China will not be able to withstand such an onslaught for a second time. China should have 10 years, 20 years, or an even longer period of peace and stability. However, after the hurricane has passed, when our compatriots rush to rebuild the homeland, one is again faced with such injustices. It cannot but remind one of the frightening revolution--Are not what one sees today precisely what aroused millions in 1966?

When celebrating the 30th anniversary of National Day, Ye Jianying [5509 0494 5391], in his preliminary evaluation of the Cultural Revolution on behalf of the Chinese Communists, said: "The starting point of the Great Cultural Revolution was to combat and prevent revisionism." He also said at the same time: "As far as a proletarian political party in power is concerned, naturally it must constantly

guard against and prevent following the revisionist path of oppressing the people at home and seeking hegemony abroad." To the Chinese people at that time, whether the state was seeking hegemony abroad was naturally something intangible, but resisting oppression and exploitation was the voice from the depths of their heart, and preventing oppression and exploitation from dropping on their head again was precisely the true motive force for their plunge into the revolution.

Whose oppression and exploitation were they resisting? Was it not precisely the oppression and exploitation by the Communist Party officials in the guise of the general and the assistant director who are, even now, standing before our eyes?

The Communist Party cadres should serve as the people's servants working in the people's interest. Just like a flourishing big tree which will have decayed branches and dead leaves from time to time, it is not surprising for some degenerates to appear among the ranks of the Communist Party. But the people hope that the degenerates will be kept to the minimum and purged upon their emergence. On the eve of the Communist Party's march into Beijing, Mao Zedong warned the entire party against the ambush of sugarcoated bullets. "Because of victory, the feeling of conceit, the feeling that one has rendered meritorious service, the desire to halt and stop progressing, the hankering for pleasure and the aversion to hardship may possibly emerge. Because of victory, the people are grateful to us, and the bourgeoisie will come forth and applaud us. That the enemy's armed might cannot subjugate us has been proved. Yet the bourgeoisie's flattery may overwhelm the weak in our ranks." His words were confirmed not long after the Chinese Communist Party came to power. The movements against the three evils and against the five evils in the early period of the nation produced a certain restraining effect on the degeneration of the cadres. However, after the anti-rightist movement in 1957, the situation changed. The anti-rightist movement created the evil precedent whereby opposing individual party members was opposing the party. While the goal of rectifying the party style was not accomplished, some of the party members became even more arrogant and severed from the masses. By the mid-60's, the bureaucratic airs and conceit of some of the party members and cadres had become fairly serious, and some had even degenerated and exuviated. The situation was more serious in rural areas. Many cadres enjoyed a much higher living standard than the ordinary peasants. They indulged in graft and embezzlement and converted the public into the private, causing the intense dissatisfaction of the peasants. Perhaps only then did Mao Zedong and other Chinese Communist leaders sense the gravity of their cadre issue; therefore, the socialist education movement (the "four-clean-up" movement) was first launched in rural areas. In

January 1965, in the "Resolution on a Number of Issues in the Socialist Education Movement" (the 23 Articles), Mao Zedong first proposed the necessity to "rectify the authorities in the party following the capitalist road" and, in the Great Cultural Revolution which was launched immediately thereafter, criticized the "capitalist roaders" on a national scale.

Just what is socialism? What is capitalism? What is considered as following the capitalist road? Even today, more than 10 years later, many (including a considerable number of Communist Party leaders) are still somewhat confused. Therefore, this writer feels that the meaning of this new slogan is not sufficient to appeal to the people of the nation. Simple workers and peasants only know that, regardless of their high position and great power, all those who act as lords and masters, ride roughshod over them, and never use their hands and feet yet leading a life of luxury are oppressors and exploiters, to be resisted and knocked down, and have no objection to giving them the fashionable label of "capitalist roader."

In China in 1966, Mao Zedong (except for his other views) was possibly more sensitive than others to the latent crisis in the party and noticed the degeneration of certain cadres. Therefore, with this as the starting point, he launched the Cultural Revolution. He directed the spearhead of struggle at the authorities indifferent to socialism and at the party cadres who had suffered corrosion. One should say that it was where the trouble of the Chinese Communist Party was at that time. Mao Zedong's action represented the interest and desire of China's broad worker-peasant masses. Only thus can one explain why his cry that "rebellion is justified" could wield such an incredible magic and mobilize tens of thousands overnight.

If China wished to safeguard its political color, the first thing was to revolt against the degenerates in the Communist Party. This was Mao Zedong's conclusion. The people supported his conclusion; therefore, they plunged into the Cultural Revolution. The tragedy was that, not long after its start, the direction was changed.

The Lesson of the Soviet Union

The understanding of this issue possibly came from the lesson of the Soviet Union.

In its criticisms of the Soviet Communists, the Chinese Communists revealed numerous instances of the degeneration of the Soviet bureaucratic stratum. Chinese Communist publications constantly informed the people that the chairmen of Soviet collective farms and the party

committee secretaries and chiefs of its plants possessed a great power and lived extravagantly, that they could arbitrarily dismiss the workers and persecute the peasants, and that they unscrupulously engaged in speculation and profiteering and squandered money without limit. If capitalism was restored inside the Soviet Union, the people did not see the Czarist Russian aristocrats, Russian capitalists and rich peasants returning to Russia and mounting the political stage to oppress and exploit the Soviet people. If the majority of the Soviet people again lived under oppression and exploitation, then the oppressors and exploiters had to be the Soviet Communist bureaucrats.

If the Chinese Communists wished to combat and prevent revisionism and forestall a capitalist restoration, should they not learn a lesson here? One must admit that Mao Zedong picked up the mirror of the Soviet Union to look at his own party and discovered the blemishes. Therefore, while intensively criticizing the Soviet Communists, he simultaneously launched the Cultural Revolution.

Unfortunately, when setting about to solve the cadre issue, Mao Zedong made a series of errors, which were summarized by Ye Jianying as "unrealistic evaluation of the situation inside the party and inside the country, failure to make a precise explanation of what constituted revisionism, departure from the principle of democratic centralism, and adoption of wrong policies and methods of struggle." Or, one may say that Mao Zedong launched the Cultural Revolution before making full preparations on all sides and mistakenly trusted a group of unscrupulous individuals, resulting in the failure of his endeavor.

Today's Chinese Communist leaders are again facing the problems encountered by Mao Zedong in those years, except the problems have become extremely serious and complex, and also extremely urgent. The degeneration of certain cadres is even more shocking than on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. Not only thus, but their degeneration has produced an extremely undesirable influence in society. Three years ago, one could say that such unhealthy trends as giving banquets and gifts and entering by the back door were created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." But today, some 3 years later, besides Lin Biao and the "gang of four," one cannot but feel that they are the result of the continued pursuit of special privileges by certain Chinese Communist cadres. Such special privileges seriously affect the relations between the Communist Party and the people and constitute an enormous obstacle to rallying the whole country to pursue the four modernizations. If one should say that the Chinese Communist Party, before devoting its entire effort on national construction, must reorganize its ranks and conduct some revolution, then, these

degenerate cadres remain the main goal and objective. If the Chinese Communist leaders today overlook this situation and permit it to develop, then the result can be expected--following the road of Russia and destroying the revolution. In the words of the Chinese Communists, it will be "the party changing color; the nation changing color."

6080

CSO: 4005

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ARTICLE URGES TELLING THE TRUTH

HK221345 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jan 80 p 3 HK

[Article by Niu Gent [3662 5087] and Tao Sha [7118 3097]: "A Tentative Analysis of 'Telling Lies'"]

[Text] We communists persist in seeking truth from facts. We have always supported speaking the truth and opposed telling lies. Engels clearly pointed out: The proletariat believes that the idea of concealing one's own weaknesses is contemptible. Many times Comrade Mao Zedong told us to speak the truth, be honest and down-to-earth and tell no lies. The historical mission of communists is entirely in line with the objective laws of social development. Therefore, they are most capable of speaking the truth and not telling lies. However, among the revolutionary ranks in our party, the phenomenon of lying has still not been completely eliminated. Such practices as giving false production figures, lying about achievements falsifying reports in an attempt to deceive those above and below and so forth still occur occasionally, especially in the current effort to readjust the national economy. Many claim to have made readjustments, but they have actually done nothing. Why is it always so difficult to do away with lying? This is because we are placed in a situation where speaking the truth sometimes gives one the bad end of a deal and lying puts one in an advantageous position. Thus, the trend toward lying is not checked but has spread.

For a fairly long period, an erroneous "left" trend prevailed in our work. Such a "leftist" trend was chiefly marked by indifference to objective laws. In disregard of objective conditions, certain plans divorced from reality with basically impossible targets were put forward. Anyone at a lower level who disagreed or said a discouraging word was liable to be accused of being conservative and even labeled a "right opportunist," those below were thus forced to lie. Many strange phenomena resulted. When it was obvious that only 500 or 600 jin of grain could be obtained per mu, one had to set his plans for 1,000 or 2,000 jin. When the yield at the time of harvesting obviously less than 1,000 jin per mu, one had to exaggerate by giving it as 2,000 jin. When the national economy was obviously not balanced, one had to say that it was. When it was obvious that an enterprise

was losing money, one had to say that it was making profits. There were many other similar cases. As one delighted in feeding the listeners with inflated figures, they were no less pleased. With the passage of time, this has become an accepted practice. The above is a main cause of lying.

Another cause is the deep-seated influence of paternalism based on the deep-seated influence of small production due to the particularly long duration of our feudal society. This influence has inevitably left its mark on some comrades in the ranks of our cadres. For instance, they like hearing good news but hate hearing the bad. They know their own weaknesses but refuse to face them. They forbid others to point them out. To them, this is an act of disrespect or something done out of spite. Those seriously affected by paternalism always put on airs as if they were completely right or always right. They feel that if they do not behave in this way, they cannot make their authority felt. Some like their inferiors to obey everything they say. They have a good impression of such obedient cadres. Promote them fast and give them responsible jobs. Those cadres that do not obey what is said are discriminated against, left in the cold or put in minor posts. With the passage of time, this has become an accepted practice. Some people have let everything they do and say be guided by only a flicker of the eye or a facial expression on the part of their chief. They say what the chief likes to hear! They say one thing and mean another. They are hypocrites and are a reflection on the party's style.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild for 10 years. They promoted the ultraleftist line and vigorously practiced fascist dictatorship. This brought the evil practice of lying to its climax. They themselves were adherents of the dogma, "nothing important can be done without lying." They also used "political considerations" as an excuse for lying to deceive the masses. With the national economy on the verge of collapse, they said it was "an excellent situation" and "a situation in which orioles sing and swallows dance." When production was seriously disrupted or declined as a result of the "campaign to repulse the rightist wind of reversing verdicts," they insisted that production had benefited. They made the claim out of "political considerations." Other similar cases may be cited. Under these circumstances, those who lied to please the "gang of four" were rated as persons loyal to the proletarian command or "leftists" and they were given every chance to climb up or come out on top. Those who spoke the truth and disapproved of what the "gang of four" did were subjected to malicious accusations and persecution. Many persons did not dare speak their minds and just lied. After the "gang of four" were smashed, the party central committee stressed the need of seeking truth from facts and doing everything with reality in mind. Much has been achieved in correcting the bad practice of lying. The tradition of speaking the truth has begun to reassert itself. But serious damage has been done by the "gang of four." The bad habit of lying cannot be dropped overnight. Therefore, we must continue to fight the phenomenon of lying.

[HK221405] To get rid of the bad habit of lying, we must take a serious look at its harm. Experience shows that determination combined with correct methods is the fundamental principle in doing various tasks well. Speaking the truth and reflecting real conditions play an important role in giving the leadership access to truthful information. The higher-ups cannot possibly investigate every matter personally. An important way for them to obtain information is to rely on those below. If the information provided by those below is unreliable, partially true or even completely false, then the leadership cannot understand the actual conditions. The greater the determination to attain a target that is not based on actual conditions, the greater the loss that may result. Therefore, speaking the truth to those above and those below is the most basic factor in the higher levels exercise of correct leadership. All our party's general lines and specific policies are based on materialism calling for seeking truth from facts and doing things with reality in mind. If the information supplied by a unit to those above is not true or slightly untrue, we will end up with information far removed from reality, since it is based on information collected from so many lower units. This will result in the leadership treading on dangerous ground like a blind man riding a blind horse without being able to make a correct judgment or exercise correct leadership. Therefore, speaking the truth or lying determines to a certain degree the success or failure of our enterprise and can never be treated lightly.

To do away with the practice of lying, the leadership must create objective conditions for speaking the truth. It must not just verbally call for protecting the outspoken from any possible harm; but must carry it out in practice. It must be receptive to not only pleasant advice, but also to the unpleasant. Not only good but also bad news. It must not force those below to do the impossible or do anything silly or incompatible with objective laws. Meanwhile, it must overcome the bureaucratic style. Bureaucratism is a coverup for lying. People generally lie to cover up actual conditions. Therefore, a leader must do his job in a down-to-earth manner. He must make things difficult for the liar. When exposed, a liar should be penalized.

To advocate speaking the truth, we must not condone lies. A truth spoken cannot be equated with the accepted truth. The accepted truth is a correct subjective reflection of objective things and their laws. A truth spoken is knowledge obtained about things. Knowledge may be compatible or incompatible with objective laws. It is correct to advocate saying things that are compatible with objective laws. Should saying incorrect things be allowed? Of course, it should. What is wrong does not go away even if it is left unsaid. Only what is said, after being debated and tested in practice, can be proved right or wrong. Meanwhile, no one is omniscient and 100 percent correct in everything he says. No one can say something that can be readily accepted as the truth. One is sometimes correct and sometimes incorrect. If we just want everything said to be correct and not incorrect, with many unable to guarantee what they say to be right, the result would be either that everyone keeps his mouth

shut or that lies are told. This does not encourage people to speak the truth. A leader must cherish the spirit of delighting in hearing the truth. He must patiently listen to the plain spoken ones, whether what is said suits his taste or not. Whether it is for or against his own view. He should not find every excuse to throw cold water on the speaker or even label or hit him with a club.

To encourage speaking the truth, certain irrational regulations and systems must be changed accordingly. The dogma about not being able to do something important without lying must be shattered. Those skilled in lying must be made to suffer. Those outspoken ones must be protected from coming out second best. For instance, a unit is not likely to submit budget for 100,000 yuan if that is the amount it actually needs. The reason is that those who give approval to apply the ax. If the unit asks for 150,000 yuan, it will probably get 100,000 yuan. Is such a situation of "being armed with a 3 foot tall hat as a safeguard against the ax" not encouraging people to lie? If everyone is down-to-earth in asking for and approving the amounts needed, then would it not be an honest deal all around?

To promote the practice of speaking the truth, one must not have selfish thoughts when he persists in speaking the truth. Nothing counts more than death. Our history has known many typical figures who dared to speak the truth in defiance of death. The moment before she was shot to death, Zhang Xiaxin, a pioneer in the ideological emancipation of the proletariat, stuck it out, saying: "That is my consistent view." We must always imitate such a lofty spirit of "buffeted by the snowstorm, a green pine stands sturdy and straight." Whether one can persist in speaking the truth is of course related to the prevailing social trend. But this is also closely bound up with one's own ideological state, the degree of consciousness, moral training and so forth. Therefore, to do away with the practice of lying, we must eliminate both external and internal causes, so that speaking the truth can become the accepted practice to last from generation to generation.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES DEPRIVATION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS

HK231217 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 80 p 5 HK

[Article by Xu Lisheng [6079 7787 3932]: "A Talk on the Deprivation of Political Rights in China's Criminal Law"]

[Text] Deprivation of political rights is a relatively severe punishment according to China's criminal law. Therefore, the criminal law stipulates that deprivation of political rights is primarily applied to counterrevolutionaries and criminals who severely disrupt social order.

The criminal law stipulates that deprivation of political rights should be governed by the following principles: 1.) When counterrevolutionaries are punished, they should be deprived of their political rights; 2.) Criminals sentenced to death or life imprisonment should be deprived of their political rights for life; 3.) Criminals who seriously disrupt social order may also be deprived of their political rights when necessary; and 4.) Counterrevolutionaries and criminals involved in minor offences whose principal sentence is not more severe than surveillance can be deprived of their political rights for a period of time.

Some comrades think that deprivation of political rights should not be applicable to criminals among the people. This view is questionable. The criminal law stipulates that criminals sentenced to a short term of imprisonment, detention or surveillance may be additionally deprived of their political rights. Most of these criminals have committed offences of the nature of contradictions among the people. Criminals sentenced to detention or fixed-term imprisonment of less than 3 years but given probation are also liable to be additionally deprived of their political rights. Probation is not applicable to counterrevolutionaries and repeat offenders. Some criminals who have committed offences of the nature of contradictions among the people can be deprived of their political rights. These include offenders of Article 143 who deprive another person of his personal freedom and of Article 145 who insult and libel another person. We must point out that we should not confuse the meaning of deprivation of political rights in the PRC constitution and that in the criminal law. The former

is a measure to exercise class dictatorship over the antagonistic elements of the overthrown class who have not been reformed. They are deprived of their political rights by the state whether they have committed crimes or not. Such a measure of class dictatorship is not applicable to the people. The latter is a punishment according to the criminal law and can be applied to counterrevolutionaries and criminals. It is applied according to the offences and the demands of the situation. Some criminals whose offences are only of the nature of contradictions among the people may also deserve this punishment for a period. This is because some of them may have very bad political qualities and they have used their political rights to commit crimes.

A person can be deprived of his political rights for a period of 1 to 5 years. If the period is too long, the criminal will not enjoy political rights even though he has served his sentence. This is unnecessary from both the view of educating and reforming criminals and of turning negative factors into positive ones. But the period should not be less than a year because if it is too short, it will be difficult for the deprivation of political rights to fully play its role as a form of punishment. When the death sentence has been reduced to a fixed-term of imprisonment or when a sentence of life imprisonment has been commuted to a fixed-term of imprisonment or parole, the period of additional deprivation of political rights should be 3 to 10 years. For those sentenced to surveillance and additionally deprived of their political rights, the period of both punishments should be equal and they should be served simultaneously.

Our criminal law states that deprivation of political rights takes effect on the day when the imprisonment or detention has been served or when the criminal is freed. Of course, a person is deprived of his political rights when he is serving his sentence. Since personal freedom is the prerequisite for political rights, prisoners cannot enjoy political rights whether or not they are additionally deprived of them. When a criminal is released after serving a sentence or is on parole, additional deprivation of political rights will be enforced by the public security organs where the criminal lives instead of by the prison or reform-through-labor organs. For a criminal who is punished with only a deprivation of his political rights, the enforcement of this punishment will be handed over by the people's court to the public security organs in the locality where the criminal lives. When the period of deprivation of political rights is over, the public security organ should notify the criminal and announce to the masses that he has regained his political rights.

CS0: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG JOURNAL OF PRC POLITICAL SITUATION

HK240938 Hong Kong TUNG SIANG in Chinese No 16, 16 Jan 80 pp 4-6 HK

[Article by Bi Renqiong: "Some Movements in the Political Situation of the PRC"]

[Text] While people were watching China's political situation, the 1980's arrived.

The PRC has quietly passed this year's New Year's Day. No boastful or empty words have been spoken and no wasteful or extravagant ceremonies have been held. This gives people the feeling that the Beijing leadership has placed more emphasis on concrete work and has become more steady and sure.

On New Year's Day, RENMIN RIBAO carried an editorial entitled "Usher In a Period of Great Achievements." It was about 4,000 characters and used about one-fourth of its coverage to review our achievements last year. It focused primarily on this year's tasks, the problems we will face and the measures we will adopt. Apart from the RENMIN RIBAO editorial, Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Deng Yingchao and others also gave speeches. Hua Guofeng's speech was one of comfort to the PLA units stationed in Beijing while Deng Yingchao's was mainly on the problem of bringing Taiwan back to the motherland and publicizing the PRC's position.... However, Deng Xiaoping's speech merits great attention. His speech was given at the tea-party of the National CPPCC and was directed toward all parties, democratic people at all levels and patriots. The speech explained the administration principles of the PRC. Concise and comprehensive, it briefly discussed the current policy decisions of the Beijing leadership.

Deng Xiaoping Speaks on How To Deal With the "Xidan Wall"

After carefully studying Deng Xiaoping's speech and the RENMIN RIBAO editorial, people can generally speculate on the current policies of the PRC and clarify some doubts and worries.

When Beijing was dealing with the "Xidan Wall," domestic and foreign reports gave people the impression that there were major disputes within the PRC over the problem of democracy and that those who supported Deng Xiaoping's view of allowing the "Xidan Wall" were in the minority group. Now the problem has been clarified.

In discussing the "Xidan Wall" in his New Year's Speech, Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We can never achieve the Four Modernizations without a political situation of stability and unity, because people cannot embark on modernization without peace of mind. Therefore, we are opposed to those people and things which create disturbances. Take, for example, the method of allowing the existence of the "Xidan Wall." Of course, there are many good people who have become involved in the matter. However, the thinking of some people is incorrect."

This shows that Deng Xiaoping also supported the handling of the "Xidan Wall." The main reason people got the impression that Deng Xiaoping opposed the handling of the "Xidan Wall" was that when foreign news agencies reported Deng Xiaoping's talk with the vice president of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" on 26 January, it was disclosed that Deng Xiaoping had reiterated: "He supports democracy, but he opposes people overdoing it." I said in March and April that I supported the continual existence of the "Xidan Wall," but now it seems that it has been used by some people. Now I must change what I said.

[HK240940] Behind the Handling of the "Xidan Wall"

This accords with the tone and spirit of Deng Xiaoping's New Year's Day speech. Another source also proved this view. It is said that while wanting to protect the situation of stability and unity, the Beijing policymakers were basically unanimous on the way to handle the "Xidan Wall."

However, when the issue was submitted to the NPC and the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee for discussion, deviations arose. As the PRC newspapers reported, a great majority of officials wanted the wall closed, and a one-sided tendency of defying the articles of the constitution appeared. Only a small minority of people disagreed with the idea of doing everything in a rigid way regardless of the conditions and writing off everything, and this was reported to the central authorities. The final decision was to move the "Xidan Wall" to Yuetan Park and implement the registration measures and demand that people who put up big-character posters be responsible for their contents. This seems to be a compromise reached by both sides.

This was a prudent and safe measure. People who put up big-character posters must be registered and they must be responsible for their contents. In fact, this regulation should have been laid down much earlier. However, the form of big-character posters was put forward by Mao Zedong. Since there was a lack of democracy within the CCP and an atmosphere of personal deification, even though Mao Zedong may have said incorrect things or formulated incorrect policies, no one dared adopt an opposing view or even a supplementary view. To do so almost inevitably means pouring cold water and opposing the leader. As a result, big-character posters were used by people with ulterior motives, resulting in some unhealthy trends. Now it is time to correct them.

The Emphasis in the PRC's Administration This Year

Deng Xiaoping's speech and the RENMIN RIBAO New Year's Day editorial were permeated with a central thought: Adopt all possible measures to protect the situation of stability and unity. This is the emphasis of the PRC's administration. The handling of the "Xidan Wall" demonstrates this spirit. When looking at PRC newspapers, people will discover that fewer sharp criticisms have been made recently, especially those criticizing the cadres' tendency of seeking privileges. This was obviously done under the slogan of "protecting stability and unity."

The same tightening has also appeared in literary and artistic circles. The National Congress of Literary and Art Workers was held in an atmosphere of letting everybody air their views freely. The arrogance of the faction of praising virtue was greatly deflated and the atmosphere of letting a hundred flowers bloom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend was really promoted. However, the atmosphere at the cultural work conference of the whole army held some days ago was completely different. Wei Guoqing's speech stressed that while the cultural workers of the army are emancipating their minds, they must not deviate from the reality that the army "must maintain a high degree of stability, consolidation, centralism, unity, organization, discipline, morale and fighting spirit." If this is not done, they "will lead their work onto the road of evil." Using this kind of measurement, for an assessment, it will be very difficult for people to create works which penetratingly criticize and expose the high-ranking cadres' pursuit privileges. This was exemplified by the long poem "You Cannot Do This, General" published some time ago, which created a furor and aroused wide reaction. Indeed, after 10 years of the great calamity of the cultural revolution, China can no longer withstand any more disturbances. Therefore, people must really try hard to maintain a political situation of stability and unity in order to concentrate on the Four Modernizations. However, how should people stop disturbances and how should they protect stability and unity? This really merits careful consideration and action.

Work Along Both Lines and Really Give Much Thought to the Matter

The cadres' pursuit of bureaucratism and special privileges can indeed be said to be the current great problem abhorred by the Chinese masses. If this problem is not faced and the people's criticisms are suppressed, it can never be solved and the masses' enthusiasm will be dampened.

Recently there have been reports that Deng Xiaoping stressed at a November meeting of high-level cadres: If special privileges are not eliminated, the party and state will eventually perish. At the same time, the Party Central Committee issued 12 regulations concerning the treatment of high-level cadres to prevent the phenomenon of seeking special privileges. This is encouraging news. However, the Chinese communist papers did not seem to express this spirit. In confirmation of Deng Xiaoping's New Year's Day speech, it is estimated that the policy making echelon of the PRC probably intended to work along two lines: On the one hand, the leadership hopes that all cadre systems within the party can gradually be perfected, all

situations which are conducive to seeking special privileges will be eliminated and the contradiction of setting the cadres against the masses will cease to exist; on the other hand, the newspapers have not reported this and people have been suppressed to avoid disturbances and damage to the situation of stability and unity. Much thought has really been given to this matter. However, since the practice of cadres seeking special privileges is common in all places all over the country and the organs at all levels have been isolated from the masses' criticisms, exposure and supervision, it is important to see if this practice within the party can be effectively stopped.

[HK240942] The Fallacy of "Learning From the Soviet Union and Taiwan"

Recently, I heard a piece of disturbing hearsay which I hope is not true. It was said that many cadres believe: "We must learn from the Soviet Union and Taiwan." The implication is that the Soviet Union and Taiwan have adopted high-handed policies to forcibly protect social stability with the result that their economies have been promoted in the past few years, so we should learn from them, too. We do not need democracy to achieve modernization. The democracy issue can be left for discussion after our economy develops. Although this view is certainly incorrect, it may have a definite appeal to most "bureaucrats."

"Big-Character Posters" Do Not Conform with China's Situation

Some people have said that the NPC is preparing to revise the constitution next year and abolish the article on putting up big-character posters. It is said that the posters "do not conform with China's situation. Although this suggestion is not completely wrong, it is certainly too extreme. In China today there is very little and in fact a lack of public media. There is basically only one official medium and it is impossible for the people to run a newspaper, journal, or broadcasting and television station. As a result, it is indeed very difficult for the people to truly express their opinions and carry out extensive supervision over the administration of the ruling party through public opinion. We do not mean that the party newspaper cannot represent the people's opinions at all. However, people feel that there is interference from official policies and that the newspaper has stuck to different principles in various periods. Due to these limitations, the government cannot possibly "know everything clearly," and thus things cannot be done in "a perfect way." Therefore, the people's supervision is needed. Of course, the publicity media such as the newspapers is not the only way of supervising, but it is one way.

Therefore, since there are no newspapers or journals run by the people, we should still allow big-character posters to give expression to people's opinions. Its cost is inexpensive that everybody can afford to write. It is simple, fast and convenient and it can also be used for publicity like newspapers and journals. If we lay down better measures and set up regulations regarding the sites where big-character posters may be put up and also

establish procedures and responsibility for putting them up, rather than adopting a wait and see policy, this will not "contradict China's situation." Instead, it is a form which is closely related to China's reality in giving expression to people's opinions. If the CCP does not even have the open mindedness to accept people's advice, it will inevitably give people the impression that it is too arbitrary. If it thinks that the big-character posters after being restricted will harm the situation of stability and unity, it really lacks confidence in its administration.

Guard Against "Stability and Unity" Being Used as a Pretext

Of course, this all seems to be hearsay. Looking at the way in which Beijing dealt with the "Xidan Wall," and in the wake of the deepening of education in the ideological line among leadership organs at all levels, the tendency of doing things in an arbitrary, dictatorial, extreme and one-sided way will gradually disappear.

Looking at China's political situation this year, we believe that on the basis of summarizing experiences and lessons over the past 3 years, the policy fluctuations will decrease and the situation will become more stable. However, people worry that while stressing stability and unity, we should guard against "stability and unity" being used as a pretext by the ultra-leftist faction, bureaucrats and special privilege seekers to suppress the masses' criticisms or interfere with politics and innovations in the economic systems. People remember how they used the "Four Basic Principles" to impede the discussion on the criterion of truth last March and April. This looks like a "hidden danger." Fighting against the "left" is still the current chief task of the CCP.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG MAGAZINE ON CHINA'S PRESS DISPUTE

HK240747 Hong Kong TUNG SIANG in Chinese No 16, 16 Jan 80 pp 7-8 HK

[Article by Fan Tzu-Ping: "A Dispute in China's Press Circles"]

[Text] People will notice there has been an obvious change in the past few months if they pay attention to Mainland China's newspapers. There are fewer critical reports and letters, particularly articles that criticize the cadres' privileges, and also fewer revealing cartoons. This kind of change seems to show that there is a change in the CCP's policy on criticism. However, judging by the XINWEN ZHANXIAN recently published by RENMIN RIBAO, disputes still exist within the CCP on how to deal with the question of press criticism.

The CCP's Press Criticism Begins to Draw Back

In the early stage after the smashing of the "gang of four," CCP newspapers publicized more than once that the people could criticize the government and the cadres, and they also publicized "blame not the speaker but be warned by his words." However, after the big-character poster upsurge, the scale of press exposure began to draw back.

When some underground publications were banned and Wei Jingsheng was severely sentenced, the press simultaneously published Zhao Ziyang's speech which absolutely stressed "safeguard the party's prestige," and recently there has been severe criticism of "anarchism."

How should we regard the change in the CCP press?

First, there are indeed a small number of people in society who make use of the open policy to hit at, libel and frame up people and arouse disturbances. It is necessary to curb such a tendency, but such curbs are only applicable to those who criticize in an indiscriminate way. As far as the whole of society is concerned, criticism should absolutely not be curbed, because it is the tool for supervising the state's work, and besides, only if more people comment on the state's policies, can it be possible for the policies to become perfect.

Secondly, far from being drawn back, press criticism should be strengthened since CCP newspapers have not been able to reflect the people's opinions for long periods of time. Even in the past 3 years, when the newspapers began to resume publishing letters from readers, the content of the letters was still restricted. There have never been comments in the press on specific policies and administrative decisions formulated by the state.

As a matter of fact, some of the people's discontent and opinions are right and some of them are wrong. If correct opinions are not accepted or are not even allowed to be put forward, the government's policies will never be corrected if there really are mistakes. On the other hand, if the wrong opinions are not clarified, the dissemination of errors will only cause bad influences. Is there not clear proof of this, looking back over Chinese history of the past 30 years?

Many of the systems in China are not yet perfected, in particular, the supervision and examination system of the cadres has not yet been set up. Under such circumstances, press criticism seems to be more important. The CCP is already the ruling party, and the shortcomings and mistakes in its work will easily jeopardize the interests of the masses. Since the communists are in the status of being the ruling party and are powerful, it is easy for them to make arbitrary decisions and take preemptory actions and to reject and suppress criticism inside and outside the party. Only by conducting supervision through open criticism and in particular press criticism can such phenomena be avoided.

The Central Committee's Decisions on Press Criticism

After the founding of the state, the CCP attached great importance to the function of press criticism. On 19 April 1950, the CCP Central Committee issued a "Decision on Launching Criticism and Self-Criticism in Newspapers and Publications." The decision said: "It has become more outstandingly important today to encourage the masses to openly criticize the shortcomings and mistakes in our work in the newspapers and publications, and educate the party members, in particular, the party cadres, to make self-criticisms on such shortcomings and mistakes in the newspapers and publications." The decision pointed out: "To carry out criticism and self-criticism in newspapers and publications is an essential method for consolidating the party-masses relationship, safeguarding democracy in the party and the state, and speeding up improvement in society."

On 17 July 1954, the central committee further made a "decision on improving the work of the newspapers." The decision said in summing up the situation since the announcement of the 1950 decision: "Although CCP committees and editorial boards of party papers in all places have made efforts in this respect and scored certain results, the majority of CCP committees and newspapers are not basically carrying out the work well; instead they are basically not doing it well. The main reason is that the CCP committees have not done enough in leading and supporting the launching of criticism and

self-criticism in the press. There exist among some of the party's cadres serious pride and suppression of criticism, and they lack 'the revolutionary attitude of enthusiastically welcoming and resolutely protecting' criticism, and in particular criticism by the working people from top to bottom." [HK240758] Therefore, the decision reiterated: "The newspapers are the most incisive weapon of the party in launching criticism and self-criticism. In order to widely launch criticism and self-criticism, CCP committees at all levels must adequately and correctly make use of the press--the powerful weapon," and must "regard whether the press has adequately launched criticism, whether the criticism is correct or not and whether the cadres enthusiastically welcome and resolutely protect criticism by the working masses from top to bottom as the measure for judging the party spirit of the newspapers and democratic life inside the party, and for judging whether the leadership of the CCP committees is strong or weak."

RENMIN RIBAO Methods Suffers Pressure

After the "gang of four's" fall from power, the majority of CCP newspapers and publications, in particular, RENMIN RIBAO seemed to work according to the spirit of the two decisions of the central authorities of the CCP. They broke through "forbidden zones," boldly published letters from readers, and exposed and criticized a lot of unreasonable phenomena. They stimulated the ideological enlivenment of the people, and spurred the discussion on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth. RENMIN RIBAO changes from being detested and rejected by the masses during the "gang of four" period to being greatly welcomed by them. The old director of RENMIN RIBAO Hu Qiaomu declared: RENMIN RIBAO has gained the prestige which it never had in the past.

However, some people were happy while others were sad. Newspapers and publications such as RENMIN RIBAO went all out in accepting criticism from the readers, but they encountered pressure, especially when a great number of criticisms concerned phenomena of bureaucratism, privilege and going through the back door. Hu Jiwei, the present chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO revealed: "The criticism that we carry out in the newspapers can only be called enthusiastic advice, not enthusiastic attacks, and it can never be called fierce, yet many comrades are already angry about it."

According to our information, during this period, it appeared that in some newspapers in various places, reporters were attacked and suppressed for writing critical reports. More articles, letters and cartoons were detained and not published. It was also said that some editors of newspapers had been dismissed from their posts.

This kind of action obviously runs counter to the spirit of the central committee decisions of 1950 and 1954, some people may say that the situation today is different from the situation at the early stage of the founding of the state. It is undeniable that it is different. At the early stage of the founding of the state, the CCP had just become the ruling party and the cadres had also just tasted power. But today, after 30 years, many of

the cadres have gained a lot of various interests from their power, and they will never give up so easily. Therefore, supervision from inside and outside the party is needed. Besides, after more than 10 years' sabotages, there are many flaws in the political and economic system, and they still more need criticism and supervision by the people.

XINWEN ZHANXIAN Launches Discussions

No 6 issue of XINWEN ZHANXIAN published by RENMIN RIBAO in December last year reprinted the central committee 20 April 1950 "Decision on the Launching of Criticism and Self-Criticism in Newspapers and Publications," and also published a commentator's article which pointed out: reviewing the decision today, to publicize and implement the spirit of this decision will still have important effects on our party's entire journalism work. The article demanded launching of discussions on the question of press criticism.

XINWEN ZHANXIAN also published Hu Jiwei's speech at the theory class in the party school not long ago, entitled "How Should Criticism and Self-Criticism Be Launched in the Press?"

XINWEN ZHANXIAN deliberately organized this series of articles. This shows that disputes exist within the CCP on the question of press criticism. It also expresses diverging opinions of RENMIN RIBAO on drawing back in press criticism.

Of the three articles, the speech of Hu Jiwei was noteworthy. He devoted a large part of his speech to quoting the decisions of the CCP central committee, and relevant theories and speeches of Mao Zedong and Stalin. His purpose seemed to be to secure himself in an invincible position and increase his persuasiveness. In the rest of the speech, Hu Jiwei talked on several topics. One was the significance of launching press criticism, another the question of destructive criticism, and a third the demand for criticism.

Hu Jiwei Talks on Press Criticism

Hu Jiwei held: The party constitution stipulates that CCP committees at all levels must frequently listen to criticisms from inside and outside the party and accept supervision. Press criticism serves as an important step in the implementation of such supervision." "Only a leadership which is intelligent and closely linked with the masses can strictly place our party's work under the supervision of the masses inside and outside the party, insure that the entire party, in particular, cadres at all levels, are equal before Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and earnestly practice what they preach, insure that the entire party, in particular, cadres at all levels, are equal before the line and principles of the party, and that everyone implements them, and also insure that the entire party, in particular, cadres at all levels, are equal before party discipline and state laws."

[HK240803] That is to say, press criticism is an important measure for insuring equality between officials and the people, and among officials. Press criticism is also an important measure for supervising the work of the CCP and the state.

Regarding destructive criticism, Hu Jiwei pointed out its definition to be: "Criticism that causes pessimism and disappointment, disorganization and splits in order to sabotage discipline and the leadership, and to hit at the masses' confidence and enthusiasm in advancing." This kind of criticism is in fact vicious attack, and should be absolutely forbidden.

Besides destructive criticism, there is also a question of how to view the problem of press criticism being made use of by the enemies. This is a common reason why some people within the CCP are currently suppressing press criticism. It is undeniable that press criticism will be made use of by the enemies. Just look at the CCP press exposure of the crimes of the "gang of four" and bureaucratism. After the "gang of four's" fall from power, were not these things made use of by some people to denounce the CCP and to instigate the overthrow of the CCP? Hu Jiwei said while quoting the 1950 decision of the CCP Central Committee: "In openly uncovering mistakes in the newspapers and carrying out criticism and self-criticism, it is impossible that no advantage will be taken of this by the enemies. Now, we have already become the ruling party, and it is completely wrong if we refuse to openly carry out criticism and self-criticism in the press under the pretext of being afraid of being taken advantage of by the enemies. At the same time, on account of international and domestic situations, it is necessary to make appropriate political consideration while carrying out open press criticism and self-criticism, to give the people as much and the enemies as little as possible." This kind of viewpoint seems to be more practical. Should not those who worry about enemies making use of press criticism, also worry about enemies making use of lack of press criticism to say that there is no democracy in communist China?

Hu Jiwei said: "The CCP committees should lead the party newspapers to widely and frequently publish various opinions of the members and the masses, publish all kinds of supporting, commending and encouraging opinions, exploratory, probing and suggesting opinions, and also publish warning, supervisory and critical opinions, so as to insure that the party newspapers are full of the voice of the people, concentrate the masses' wisdom and reflect the supervision of the masses." Obviously, Hu Jiwei advocated that newspapers should strengthen criticism and supervision.

Currently, the CCP always says that the state can suffer no more after the "gang of four" incident. Therefore, they have to be cautious in all decisions and policies. The CCP also says that democracy has a developing process and a premise of suitably economic foundation. All these are correct. However, we should see that to expose shortcomings and mistakes and to launch press criticism are aimed at insuring that the state attaches importance to eliminating such shortcomings, and also at handing over the

state's policies to the supervision of the masses so as to avoid errors. In this way, the state will not suffer, but its defensive power will be strengthened. On the other hand, if problems are avoided or concealed under the pretext that the time is not ripe, they will become more serious day by day, and that is very dangerous. Regarding the question of economic foundation, was the economic foundation at the founding of the state better than the present one? If it was possible to launch press criticism at that time, why not now?

Now is the right time for XINWEN ZHANXIAN to propose the launching of the discussion on press criticism.

CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' EDITORIAL ON SHOWING CONCERN FOR POOR AREAS

HK251320 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 80 pp 1, 4 HK

[Editorial: "Show Concern for Backward Areas, Support Poor Communes and Brigades"]

[Text] The Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee and Dezhou Prefecture in Shandong have carried out concrete measures to help poor communes and brigades recover and develop their production. As a result, in the past year, a considerable numbers of communes and brigades have made greater advances in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and industry. This conforms with popular feelings and is a job done at the appropriate time. We must make efforts to do a good job of this within the limits of the whole country. By assisting the poverty-stricken brigades to catch up with the advanced ones, our socialist agriculture will become more developed and prosperous.

At the moment, to speed up agricultural development, we must focus on developing certain prefectures, communes and brigades which have more favorable conditions so that they will become better off at an earlier date. Meanwhile, we must strive by every means to support the large number of poor communes and brigades to take off their labels of "poverty" and gradually catch up with those which are well off. This is also an urgent task confronting us at the moment and we cannot afford to ignore it. Currently, the collective production of approximately one quarter of the production teams throughout the country is in extreme difficulty. Their members are living in difficult circumstances. The vast numbers of cadres and masses are urgently asking for a change in the backward economic situation. If production in these areas does not move forward, we will be unable to bring the initiative of the masses into play. In these circumstances, the pace of agricultural development as a whole will undoubtedly be affected. One point that merits particular attention is that the most poor localities, communes and brigades are situated at remote mountain areas. Of these, many were old revolutionary base areas. People there made great contributions and sacrifices for nationwide liberation. It has been 30 years since the founding of the people's republic. It would be unfair to the revolutionary martyrs who laid down their lives for us if we continued to allow these people to live in such difficult circumstances. In addition, how can we convince the masses of the superiority of the socialist system? It is a

pointed question and an urgent task to swiftly change the face of these poor areas. Leading party and government departments at various levels must allow and encourage certain communes and brigades to become well-off ahead of others and summarize their experiences of becoming rich. They must also adopt practical and effective measures to help the poor ones, analyze the causes of their poverty and lead the way for them to become rich.

In showing concern for backward areas and supporting poor communes and brigades, we must first acquire a correct understanding of and attitude toward these areas. There are many reasons for backward conditions and slow progress in production in certain areas. In addition to errors in work, natural conditions, ineffective leadership and inadequate assistance from the higher levels, the most basic reason is the disruption and sabotage by the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." All in all, there are many reasons for backwardness, namely, the subjective, the objective, the historical, the practical, the lower levels and the higher levels. We must conduct a concrete analysis into these factors. In the past, some areas did not analyze the root cause of poverty in a truthseeking manner. They generally "looked for reasons from the angle of class struggle" and settled the matter by relieving the person on duty or replacing the cadres in a summary fashion. In some areas, certain cadres were frequently criticized and denounced. Constant struggling has not only failed to improve the condition but, more often than not, made it worse. [HK251339] We should bear this lesson in mind and acquire a sober understanding of the fact that most cadres and masses in these poor areas are good and relatively good. They have a vast reservoir of enthusiasm for socialism. For a number of years, they have endured innumerable hardships and made gigantic efforts to change the impoverished condition of the localities. It is imperative for us to fully take these positive factors into account, summarize the experiences of advanced communes and brigades in the localities, adopt certain measures suited to the local production level which can help mobilize the enthusiasm of the commune members, formulate proper principles, plans and methods and encourage them to work perseveringly and rely on their own effort in order to change their backward features.

The primary factor in changing the features of the poor communes and brigades is to rely on the individual efforts of the local people. Outstanding cases in these areas, be they old or new ones, are examples of success in changing the features through self-reliance, plain living and hard work. However, since the poor communes and brigades lack substantial collective resources, the state must provide them with the necessary financial and material support. The party central committee and the state council have always attached great importance to supporting these poor communes and brigades in solving their production and livelihood problems. These were enumerated as one of the important policies and measures for speeding up agricultural development. Since the founding of the People's Republic, almost 30 billion yuan in free investment and rural relief funds have been allocated by the state to support the poor communes and brigades. In recent years, it has amounted to more than 1.5 billion yuan annually. Last

year, the state reduced or exempted the agricultural tax of communes and brigades with a low income as well as the industrial and commercial tax of commune and brigade enterprises. In this way, the state created favorable conditions for certain poor communes and brigades to develop their production and rehabilitate themselves. We should reasonably utilize state aid, but we should not have a dependent mentality. In view of the state's limited financial and material resources at the moment, we cannot in a short time use more money to support the poor communes and brigades. Because of this, we must rationally use current funds and strictly guard against waste and misappropriation. Vocational departments at various levels particularly the economic department, must take up this unshirkable duty in supporting the poor areas and insure that the limited funds are really used in the poor brigades for the development of production. We must seriously correct phenomena of "supporting the plains but not the mountains" and "supporting the rich but not the poor." We should "provide more timely help" instead of "making perfection still more perfect." These are the demands of the cadres and masses of poor communes and brigades and of the party.

It has been 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic. The whole party should attach great importance to the fact that there are still places where people are living in poverty. Whether or not we pay attention to the poor communes and brigades is in fact a matter of attitude toward sharing the weal and woe of the people. It also reflects whether or not, as a communist, one has the mass viewpoint and class sentiment. One example is a county party committee secretary in Dezhou Prefecture. In view of the fact that the masses were still suffering from grain shortages and were drifting from places to places after the smashing of the "gang of four" and the problem of feeding the people had not been solved although he had worked there for a number of years, he was so conscience stricken that he pledged to change the backwardness of the locality and do the work well for the masses. Through painstaking effort, the area rid itself of backwardness. In the past 2 years, production has continued to increase. Many poor communes and brigades are becoming better off. As long as leading comrades at various levels have such a mentality, sentiment, attitude and resolve, we will certainly score the same success. Wei Yingwu, the poet of the Tang Dynasty, was a regional officer of the feudal ruling class. He was ashamed to receive his salary because the common masses within his jurisdiction were unable to live a prosperous and contented life. We are the communists who work for the interests of the people. Can we feel at ease and remain indifferent if people in places under our leadership are still living in poverty? It is our hope that leading comrades at various levels will pay close attention to this problem in ideology, really have the well-being of the masses at heart, show concern for the backward areas, support poor communes and brigades, do the work in a down-to-earth manner and strive by every means to turn the backward areas into well-off ones.

PARTY AND STATE

'JIEFANGJUN BAO' ARTICLE CALLS FOR HARD WORK, PLAIN LIVING

OW190110 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1224 GMT 18 Jan 80 OW

[Report on 18 January JIEFANGJUN BAO commentator's article: "Leading Cadres At All Levels Should Take the Initiative To Work Hard"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 January--In a commentator's article published on the front page entitled "Leading Cadres At All Levels Should Take the Initiative To Work Hard," the 18 January JIEFANGJUN BAO points out: The modernization of the motherland and the modernization of the army require all of us to work hard. It goes without saying that leading cadres at all levels should be the first to take the initiative.

The article analyzes the great significance of hard work and plain living by leading cadres mainly as follows:

1. It is conducive to leading people to concentrate their minds and energies as well as our financial and material resources on the Four Modernizations.
2. By taking the initiative to work hard, a leading cadre will be regarded as one of the masses. Thus, it will be easier for those at higher and lower levels and for officers and men to unite with one another.
3. The bureaucracy will be reduced.
4. By working hard and living a plain life, a leader will have a greater right to say something when those at lower levels indulge themselves in extravagance and waste and in unhealthy practices. He will have the courage to say something and discipline them and will be able to do a good job in this regard.
5. It will be powerful impetus to changing unhealthy social practices resulting from sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."
6. By taking the initiative to work and live a plain life, a leading cadre will be able to maintain his vigorous revolutionary spirit and to keep fit physically and mentally. It is conducive to educating his family members, such as his children, and his relatives and friends.

7. It is conducive to making one's home where he is so that he will be reluctant to leave a big city. It is also conducive to transferring army comrades to local work.

8. In this way, it will be difficult for some people to create disturbances under the pretext of opposing special privileges and it will be possible to further consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity. In a word, taking the overall situation in the country and the army into consideration, we must work hard and live plain lives.

The article says: We have gone through hardships. Facts in the past 30 years since the success of the revolution prove that our party and army, including leading cadres at various levels, have always maintained the fine tradition of hard work and plain living and of sharing weal and woe with the masses of people. Thus, a large number of good cadres who are the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts and who work hard to serve the people have come to the fore. Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were examples in hard work and plain living, thus enjoying the heartfelt love and esteem of hundreds of millions of people. Several leaders in our army, such as the late comrades Shu De, Peng Dehuai, Chen Yi, He Long and Luo Ronghuan, who made outstanding contributions, were chief representatives of our army in hard work and plain living--an army that has maintained flesh-and-blood ties and shared weal and woe with the masses of people. They devoted themselves to the revolution, went through fire and water in war and spared no effort in the performance of their duties, yet they lived very plain lives. The stories of their virtues in this regard have spread far and wide in the army and among the masses of people and have inspired and educated them.

The article says: In promoting the style of hard work and plain living today, we mainly require leading cadres at all levels to maintain and carry forward our fine traditions and work style. This of course is also aimed at coping with the problem of a small number of leading cadres forgetting and casting away the tradition of hard work and plain living. It is evident that there would be no need to talk seriously about hard work and plain living, if everyone had done well in this regard.

[OW190138] The article points out: Hard work and plain living does not merely refer to a way of life. Whether or not one uses his brain to work and study hard and conscientiously is also a question of whether or not one has the revolutionary spirit of hard work and plain living. Our leading cadres should take the initiative in doing a good job in this respect. In addition, it is better for them to pay attention even to minor issues such as housing, motor vehicle use, entertainment and arrangements for livelihood--they should abide by relevant rules and regulations and should not seek special privileges in all these respects. Since our country is still poor, has a poor foundation to start with and is backward economically and culturally, we cannot afford to be ostentatious and extravagant but must work honestly and carry forward the pioneering spirit of hard work and plain living in bringing about the Four Modernizations and doing all other work.

We must clearly understand the following two points: One point is that in stressing hard work and plain living, we are not practicing absolute egalitarianism. As permitted by rules and regulations, we should give necessary consideration to leading cadres in livelihood and provide them with the necessary conditions for their work. This cannot be called special privileges. Since our army must be ready to fight, we must consider problems from the angle of facilitating combat readiness. The other point is that in stressing hard work and plain living, we do not want everyone to be an ascetic, as though one could be more revolutionary if he were poorer.

The article emphatically points out: Under the current economic conditions of our country, there cannot be and should not be too large a gap between leading cadres and the masses of people in pay and livelihood. The material life of the masses can only be improved step by step and on the basis of developing production. It is not right to develop production without improving the living standards of the people. It is also out of the question to call for the improvement of living standards without developing production. We must educate the masses to understand this. It is all the more necessary for our party members and cadres, especially for leading cadres, to understand this. They must take the lead in working hard and living plain lives. Otherwise, they will be very wrong if they should take advantage of their positions and power to seek ease and comfort beyond the bounds of rules and regulations.

The article says: It is necessary to make conscientious efforts to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of hard work and plain living. Leading cadres should not only conscientiously do so themselves but should also encourage their relatives and children to do so. They should see to it that all relevant rules and regulations are effectively implemented. Party organizations at all levels in the army should concern themselves with this matter.

Our state, party and army have laid down regulations on living standards for leading cadres. Whoever violates these regulations violates discipline. Therefore, discipline inspection commissions and political institutions at various levels in the army should examine problems in this regard. In addition, logistics and administration departments must resolutely act in accordance with rules and regulations and must never practice favoritism, in order to avoid being more of a hinderance than a help, or do anything that appears to be motivated by love and support for leading cadres but which actually compromises their prestige.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PRC EDUCATION MINISTER ON STUDENTS' 'GOLDEN AGE'

OW230526 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1600 GMT 22 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, 22 January--In an interview with reporters of "Zhongxuesheng" [middle school students], education minister Jiang Nanxiang earnestly hoped that junior middle school students would "cherish your golden age." The interview was published in the first issue of the journal after resuming publication. Excerpts follow:

Question: Some students believe that the higher the grade one gets, the better the academic performance he has achieved. Is this correct?

Answer: High grades are important but not absolute marks of scholastic achievement by good students. Take for instance 2 students who got 90 or 80 percent on a test. One of them got the score by mechanically memorizing test material, the other by flexible application of the material. Then, even though the latter got a few points less than the former, he in fact did better than the former academically. Good scholarship means willingness to use one's head to do independent thinking and to absorb knowledge. That is, having the capability to utilize knowledge. Do not be a slave to books or grades and do not make a fetish of grades. Both Darwin and Einstein did not receive good grades at school when they were boys. But they later became great scientists who made tremendous contributions to the progress of mankind, because they possessed an interest and perseverance for probing the mysteries of nature, diligently thought over them and paid attention to practice.

Good scholarship is a necessary, but not the only requirement for good students. A young man in Shanghai who had outstanding academic records and passed the college entrance examination turned out to be a thief later and was dismissed from school. Nobody would say a thief is a good student. A good student must also have good moral character and be both socialist-minded and vocationally proficient and capable of combining socialist ideals with professional competence. He must not only have knowledge but also aspire to serve the people and the Four Modernizations with this knowledge. Another requirement for a good student is good health. A

student can study and work energetically only when his physical condition is excellent. Students must pay keen attention to physical training. There is erroneous thinking that calls physical education, music and the arts the "three minor subjects." We stand for an allround education to develop morally, intellectually, physically and aesthetically. A good student must be good in study, thinking and health. To be good in one or two of these three aspects is not enough. It is imperative to be good in all three aspects.

Question: Some students say: "Young people who can go to college or technical secondary school will have a great future, and those who cannot are hopeless. Hard effort at study is simply for the future of an individual." How can the question of going to a higher school and the future of an individual be correctly understood?

Answer: It is correct to say "young people who can go to college or technical secondary school will have a great future." But it is wrong to assert that "those who cannot are hopeless." It is also erroneous to say that "hard effort at study is simply for the future of an individual."

In the feudal society, young people studied in order to pass the imperial examination and "glorify the family and ancestors' name." In a capitalist society, a student goes to college for the sake of "establishing his reputation as an authority" and raising his social status. Revolutionary young people in our Socialist China should attain a higher ideological realm by combining the future of an individual with that of the country. The future of our country lies in the Four Modernizations. Everyone will have a bright future after the Four Modernizations are accomplished. Those who contribute to the Four Modernization will be respected by the people. On the contrary, those shortsighted people who only think of themselves and do not make much contribution to the country have no real future.

[OW230540] At present, limited by China's conditions in running schools, not many senior middle school graduates can be admitted to colleges. The great majority of them need to seek employment and work. This will create certain difficulties to their continuous efforts to advance their study. However, "where there is a will, there is a way." That does not mean that it is impossible to achieve anything, when there are difficulties. Stevenson, inventor of the steam locomotive; Farad, inventor of electro-magnetics of modern times, and inventor Edison were all poor boys without college degrees. They scored remarkable achievements through hard work and self-study. Comrade Cai Zuquan, China's specialist on electric light sources, is an ordinary worker. He has never attended college. He has successfully created more than 10 types of new light sources through hard work and self-study and made significant contributions to the state. Being the vice president of Fudan University at present, he has become a talented leader in the field of scientific research.

The party and state now run a television university for those young people who are working and provide all kinds of facilities for spare-time study. Although it is hard to enter college, the gates of knowledge and science are always open to all young people who have lofty ideals. As long as one has strong determination and unswervingly works hard, one can always score achievements and become a competent person in building China into a powerful, modern socialist nation.

Question: The period in junior high school is an important period of study in one's life. Please tell us what students should do during this period.

Answer: A junior middle school is the place for students to receive a general education. It not only sends qualified students to schools at the higher level but also supplies the society with a new army of outstanding production workers. The majority of junior middle school students will be workers, peasants and service attendants.... in the future. Therefore, junior middle schools must meet the diversified needs of the students, help students learn all kinds of knowledge, arouse their interest in many fields, and look for students who will have a bright future in certain specialized fields so that all kinds of professional schools and various departments concerned in society can train them.

Now, courses for music and fine arts are not being offered in some junior high schools, and thus the students are unable to acquire knowledge in these fields. This is not conducive to discovering talented students in these fields.

What should students do in the period of junior middle school? This is an important question. Junior middle school students are young people ranging from 12 and 13 to 15 and 16 years old. This is an important period to lay a good foundation for moral, intellectual and physical development, and it is the golden age in one's whole life.

During that stage, the growth of one's brain is being gradually completed and one's memory and comprehension are rapidly developing. This is exactly the best time for acquiring knowledge. Students must conscientiously and vigorously study all courses and lay a sound foundation of learning. During that stage, students are sensitive in feeling and active in thinking. However, they have not yet fallen into a certain pattern. They can be easily affected by outside influences. It is an important stage for them to shape their world outlook. Therefore, the students must abide by the "rules for middle school students"; pay attention to their own thinking, moral character and self-cultivation; attach importance to tempering their own will and character; and lay a sound political and ideological foundation of serving the people.

This period is also the beginning of the age of puberty for the students. They must pay full attention to sanitation, vigorously undergo physical training and maintain good physical condition. They love to ponder over

many issues and come into contact with something new. They are full of vigor and illusions. They love activities, and they are good at imitating others. Thus, they should participate even more enthusiastically in varied and colorful activities conducive to intellectual and physical development.

In short, you students must cherish the golden age, strive to develop morally, intellectually and physically, and make this golden age glow with radiance.

CS0: 4005

'CHINA YOUTH NEWS' ON NEW MOTTO FOR MODERNIZATION DRIVE

OW260334 Beijing XINHUA in English 0257 GMT 26 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, January 26 (XINHUA)--"Modernization starts with me and now," the young people's motto, shows their sense of responsibility as masters of the country, says an editorial in today's CHINA YOUTH NEWS.

A class in the chemistry department of Qinghua University first raised the motto. After it was published by the PEOPLE'S DAILY and the CHINA YOUTH NEWS, young people all over the country made it their own.

Today's editorial notes that the great call for modernization has inspired the young people to consider how they can contribute. They feel that this is a great challenge and hold themselves responsible to the nation. They are now studying diligently, working hard and devoting their knowledge and enthusiasm to building socialism.

Young people were disheartened some time ago by the country's problems and difficulties and were full of complaints. They are beginning to realize that instead of standing by and grumbling they should be active in changing the situation and doing things beneficial to the nation. The problems and difficulties, basically speaking, stem from sabotage by the gang of four as well as a hundred years of economic backwardness. Backward China cannot be changed overnight and must be built up by the united efforts of the Chinese people.

The article calls on the people of all nationalities to unite and work for the modernization of the country. The people suffered greatly in the ten years of chaos and no one should allow any more upheaval to occur.

Modernization and raising of the people's living standards in a country with a population of over 900 million is a gigantic task. Only dedicated work can make the country progress.

Young people should link their own ideals and future with the future of the nation. Only this can give meaning to a person's life. It also urges them to study hard and acquire knowledge for the country's construction.

Only 20 years are left in this century, and the 80's is a decisive decade. "No time should be wasted and no opportunity to build up the country should be neglected," it says in conclusion.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC EDUCATION MINISTER ADDRESSES CONFERENCE IN BEIJING

OW251858 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 25 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, January 25 (XINHUA)--Chinese Minister of Education Jiang Nanxiang, speaking at a conference on education which closed here on January 23, stressed the importance of ideological and political work in schools and rated this as one of the eight major tasks for China's educational work.

"It is imperative to educate students with socialist consciousness in China," he said. "This is the fundamental difference between socialist and capitalist education." The purpose of China's education, he added, was to bring up students with professional expertise as well as political consciousness.

According to the minister, the other major tasks in education were as follows:

- to achieve universal elementary education at an early date
- to restructure the country's secondary education, mainly by controlling the growth of general senior middle schools and increasing secondary vocational schools
- to give special attention to primary, middle and secondary vocational schools
- to develop higher education steadily, i.e., higher education should be expanded only when quality can be ensured
- to develop international scientific and cultural interflow
- to strengthen education in border areas and areas inhabited by minority nationalities
- to develop adult education and try to eliminate at an early date adult illiteracy throughout the country.

'WOMEN OF CHINA' DISCUSSES FAMILY PLANNING

OW230848 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 23 Jan 80 OW

[Excerpts] Beijing, January 23 (XINHUA)--The January issue of WOMEN OF CHINA carries an article entitled "One-Child Family," which discusses efforts being made in China to promote family planning. The article says that to control the population growth rate the Chinese government has called on its people to practise family planning, encouraging each couple to have just one child. This is important to the achievement of China's modernization programme and the improvement of the Chinese people's material and cultural level. The article presents several cases to show how people with the national interest in mind have responded to the call of the government.

The article concludes that with government encouragement and incentives in the form of cash and other advantages, the number of one-child families in China is on the increase. However, traditional ideas remain to be overcome, and a lot of patient work needs to be done before the practice finds general acceptance, it says:

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHIJIAZHUANG PREFECTURE HOLDING CADRE TRAINING CLASSES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 79 p 4

[Newsletter: "As Long as the Ultraleftist Ghost Still Hovers Around, There Will Continue To Be Incidents of 'Destroying the Melon'"]

[Text] (NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY, Shijiazhuang, 23 Nov 79). The Shijiazhuang Prefecture Party Committee has decided to train cadre of all levels in rotation. The cadre will study documents and carry out criticism on relating the documents to practice.

Starting from the last 10 days of January, the Shijiazhuang Prefecture Party Committee will convene training classes at all levels throughout the prefecture to organize leadership cadre to integrate with reality, to study the two Central Documents concerning agricultural development, to criticize the ultraleftist line, and to carry out a reeducation on party policy. The cadre and masses approved, saying: "This time the right thing is being done!"

This is the background from which the Prefecture Party Committee decision came. In August, this year, after the story of the party secretary of Liucun Commune of Zhengding County ordering the production brigade to destroy the melon harvest, there were strong reactions throughout the county. The Prefecture Party Committee sent out a notification throughout the prefecture, however, recently, incidents similar to the destroying of the melon harvest have continued to occur, following one on the other like waves.

For example, in the middle of August, in the Gaiping Production Brigade, Hanjialou Commune in Zhengding County, because the roads were muddy after a rain, a jeep carrying leaders from the County Party Committee got stuck. The party branch of the production brigade were afraid of being criticized, so on their own volition they decided to "beautify the village, widen the streets." They ordered 677 trees in front of and behind commune members' houses cut down, tore down walls along the road, as well as pig sties and toilets, affecting 157 households. The whole village was in an uproar about it, the people seething with resentment.

Also, the Jinhsien fertilizer plant wanted to expand, and without going through land procurement procedures, but just on the work of one leader of the County Party Committee, they forcibly occupied cropland of the production brigade, and cut down 5 mu of rice that was almost ready to harvest. Because the dog of the party branch secretary of the Xiwang Production Brigade of the Tiancun Commune in this county was killed, he set up his own court and under the charge of "dog beating and disturbing the peace" gave the third degree to the youth that had killed the dog and fined him more than 300 yuan, arousing the indignation of the commune members. Similar incidents have been happening one after the other at Lingshou, Yuanshi, Gaocheng, and Wuji Counties. Cadre at some of the communes and production brigades, counting on their connections, have arbitrarily changed production team leaders selected by commune leaders, saying, "We won't follow the unified leadership." Some, to hurry up and plant wheat, to meet with higher authority inspections, have forced production teams to destroy corn which was not ripe, cotton which was just blooming, and turn under grain fields which were still being harvested. At Biancheng County, a test county for national agricultural mechanization, the party branch secretary of the Yuelizhuang Tatui of the Cheng Guan Commune, without discussing the matter with the cadre or the masses, dissolved the Tatui Scientific Research Group, and burned all the scientific research data this team had accumulated over the years. This team was an advanced unit of the whole province in the field of agricultural scientific research. The team was punished for having a different opinion in scientific experiments, and the so-called "not obeying orders."

All of these incidents, which sabotage party policy, stirred up the interest of the leading cadre of the Prefecture Party Committee. They analyzed the causes of these problems, and searched for ways to solve them. They dissected a typical example, listened to the cadre and masses, and gained beneficial enlightenment. The major problem is, in implementing the Party Central Committee's two documents on agriculture development, only lip service was paid, and in actuality, they are not conscientiously carried out. The documents were only glanced over one time, discussed haphazardly for a bit, but were not conscientiously discussed in relating them to practice. The result was, just like the masses said: "The policy does not rule the cadre, but the cadre rule the policy. Whatever the cadre say goes."

Why were some obvious mistakes not corrected right away? Some corrected but no lesson learned? Some cadre and masses believe this has to do with the fact that many of the cadre of the Shijiazhuang Prefecture are ideologically wearing the millstone of high grain production. Since the "gang of four" was smashed, some of the cadre from this prefecture still spread such talk as, "When Lin Biao and 'gang of four' were in their heyday, grain production in Shijiazhuang Prefecture rose steadily. It became a famous high grain producing region of the North, but now we are at loggerheads with Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.'" They close their

eyes and don't see these kinds of facts: From 1971 to 1976, although grain production in Shijiazhuang Prefecture rose 38 percent, cotton production fell off 58 percent and oil production dropped 22 percent. Agriculture ratios were seriously out of adjustment.

Following investigation and analysis, the Prefecture Party Committee saw how lacking they were in ideology and work. They summed up in two insufficiencies. One was that they had underestimated the pernicious influence and effect of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and that they had not criticized them enough. Just like the masses say, "As long as there are the ghosts of the ultraleftists hovering around, there will be no end to incidents like the 'destroying of the melon harvest.'" The second was that the cadre did not have a good enough grasp of the party's general and specific policies. The Party Central Committee's general and specific policies on agricultural development had not taken root in some of the cadre's ideology. They felt that until these two shortcomings were cleared up, simply sending out work teams and notifications would not do any good. So, the Prefecture Party Committee decided to convene training classes at all levels throughout the prefecture, and train all of the cadre in rotation, to let them sit down and conscientiously study the documents, relate them to practice, sum up experiences, set up standards of truth for discussing this, to see the causes of "destroying the melon harvest," and to have a good grasp of weapons with which to wage war with "destroying the melon harvest" activities.

At present, the first training class held by the prefecture has already begun. Some communes and counties have set up their own training classes, and others are in the active planning stage.

9559

CSO: 4005

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

13 FEB

U.P.M. 80